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SEALS AND THE ELITE AT PERSEPOLIS: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON EARLY ACHAEMENID PERSIAN ART

By M. B. GARRISON

Introduction

THE ACHAEMENID PERSIAN EMPIRE (CA. 550–331 B.C.) WAS founded by Cyrus II (the Great) in the area of southwest Iran and lower Mesopotamia known commonly as Babylonia. At its greatest extent, under Darius I (521–486 B.C.), the empire stretched from the Indus River across Egypt, incorporating much of the Greek-speaking world of western Asia. The people of this vast empire, the largest the world had ever known, spoke a wide variety of languages and practiced many different religious and social customs. Although of great importance in antiquity, the cultural, social, political, and economic history of the Achaemenid Persian empire is poorly documented, its main sources being Greek authors (especially Aeschylus, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Ctesias), who often preserve a biased view of the empire and who almost always got their information secondhand. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Western scholars promoted and expanded this Hellenocentric approach to the study of the Persian empire in their own romantic attempts to elevate the achievements of the Greeks.¹

The study of Achaemenid Persian culture, especially its art, also occupies an awkward place in the canon of historical periodization as traditionally taught in academic settings. For the Near Eastern art historian the period is often overlooked, since it falls at the very end of the ancient Near Eastern spectrum, where its historical sources are usually Greek and where certain stylistic idioms in the art suggest contact with the Greek world.² For these same reasons Greek art historians have often concluded that Achaemenid Persian art is a poor provincial hybridization of Greek art. This situation has slowly begun to change: several recent studies have attempted to evaluate Achaemenid Persian culture from a center-oriented Achaemenid perspective rather than a periphery-oriented Greek perspective.³

The study of Achaemenid Persian art has been hampered by an almost complete lack of freestanding stone and metal sculpture and the low survival rate of securely provenanced small-scale artifacts, such as metal vases and figurines. The imperial capitals of Pasargadae and especially Persepolis preserve important samples of monumental architectural relief; those from Persepolis have traditionally formed the foundation

for any discussion of Achaemenid art.

Nevertheless, we do have access to another category of material that promises to enrich discussion of Achaemenid Persian art. Glyptic art preserves the richest source of representational imagery from the ancient Near East of all periods and cultural contexts. Because seals were used in the ancient Near East to ratify transactions and documents and to secure property, they were owned by a wide variety of individuals and institutions. Seals and the clay tablets (written in various cuneiform scripts) upon which they were applied were ubiquitous features of Near Eastern cultures, and they represent the two most distinctive aspects of it in the archaeological record.⁴ The study of seals and seal impressions from earlier periods has provided the framework in art historical studies for recognizing the development of period styles. This is because seals and their ancient impressions (sealings) survive by the thousands (unlike any other type of representational artifact from the Near East) and because they document style and imagery for every historical period. Seals that survive through their impressions on clay administrative and economic tablets are especially informative. The transactions (and hence date of the seal's use) can often be dated very closely through the date formulae in the tablet text; sealings that occur on these tablets may also be linked to specific individuals mentioned in the tablet texts, individuals whose identity may be known from other tablet texts in the archive and/or other historical sources. Recent trends in glyptic research have also stressed the importance of seals in elucidating problems of social history.⁵

New Evidence from Persepolis and Its Impact on the Study of Achaemenid Persian Art

Although large numbers of actual seals dating to the Achaemenid period are extant, few have been found in controlled excavations or can be dated with certainty. A small, but important, archive of sealed tablet texts from the Treasury at Persepolis, known as the Persepolis Treasury Tablets, has been published.⁶ The tablets date from late in the reign of Darius to the early years of Artaxerxes I, 492–458 B.C. The seal

impressions, although limited in number and probably dated over the entire period covered by the tablets, have provided until now the only evidence for Achaemenid glyptic at the center of the empire.

Another, much larger, archive of sealed administrative documents was excavated at Persepolis in 1933–34 by The Oriental Institute. A selection of texts from the archive, known today as the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, was published in 1969 and 1978 by Richard Hallock.⁷ The date formulae preserved on many of the tablet texts demonstrate that the archive dates from the thirteenth through the twenty-eighth years of Darius I (509–494 B.C.). The seal impressions preserved on this archive number into the thousands and represent over a thousand individual seals, thus making it one of the largest archives of sealed administrative documents in the ancient Near East. Because initial research on this archive was geared toward the translation of the texts, the study and publication of the seal impressions are still in progress.⁸ The wealth of material they preserve is generally unknown.

These seal impressions will bring fresh insights into the discussion of Achaemenid Persian art, religion, and social custom. Not since the discovery of the monumental relief sculpture from Persepolis has such a large body of material come to light. The seal designs preserved in this corpus constitute the largest known source of representational imagery for Achaemenid Persian art. This representational imagery is richly varied and includes not only many of the scenes encountered in the traditional repertoire of Near Eastern glyptic art but also some new and unique designs. The seal impressions also preserve (somewhat surprisingly, see below, pp. 3–20) a wide range of styles. The representational imagery and styles preserved in the seal impressions will radically redefine our conception of early Achaemenid glyptic.

The impressions on the Fortification Tablets are all related through their occurrence in the same archive, which was excavated under controlled conditions and is well dated by the date formulae in the tablet texts. The officials to whom the seals belonged represent a wide range of social classes and performed a wide variety of functions in the administrative system; in addition, some of the officials belonged to the highest circles of the elite at the court and are also known from Achaemenid royal inscriptions and the Greek historical sources (including even the Great King himself). The fact that we can often identify a seal with its owner opens many exciting possibilities for the exploration of the relation between seal owners and the style and representational imagery of their seals. Thus, these seal impressions represent a unique source not only for tradi-

tional art historical inquiry but also for research into questions surrounding the social history of art. Opportunities for such close analysis of mechanisms and implications of artistic patronage are extremely rare in ancient art of any culture.⁹

Finally, the site from which the tablets come, Persepolis, was an imperial capital at the center of the empire. Thus, seal styles and imagery should reflect, and so establish, the norm for artistic and representational tastes at the center of the empire. The importance of these styles and images is heightened by the fact that the seal impressions date to a critical time in the formation and canonization of Achaemenid Persian art and culture during the reign of Darius the Great.

Goals of the Present Inquiry

Thus, the range of research possibilities for the seal impressions preserved on the Fortification archive is vast. In this study I will explore the main stylistic movements documented in the seal impressions and in the process raise some interesting issues concerning artistic patronage. Questions concerning iconography, which deserve detailed treatment, will be dealt with elsewhere.¹⁰ Rather than randomly selecting individual seals to represent certain styles, I have elected to focus upon seven seals, which are related by their occurrence on a very specific type of transaction. This contextual approach not only provides a meaningful entry into the material, but it also will allow me to explore issues in the social history of art, since we may compare the imagery and style selected by a group of highly placed individuals intimately associated with the court; some of these individuals may have been connected by familial ties, and all of them moved within a very restricted circle of administrative activity. These individuals probably saw one another regularly and could recognize and appreciated the imagery and style of their companions' seals (or the seals they were using; see below, p. 3). I think it likely that they may even have discussed the imagery and style of their seals or at least recognized the shared characteristics or novelties of those designs. These seven seals do not reflect the complete range of style and imagery preserved in the entire corpus of seal impressions; nevertheless, they do provide a convenient vantage point from which to survey the major trends in the complete corpus.

The specific issues I will address in this article are: 1) the sources of inspiration in the early formative years of Achaemenid art during the reign of Darius the Great; 2) the availability of antique imagery to the

Achaemenid Persian patron in the form of both antique seals and archaizing imagery and style; 3) the nature of official Achaemenid Court Style glyptic, its sources of inspiration, its formal qualities, and its larger meaning within the context of official court art of the Achaemenid empire under Darius; and 4) some aspects of patron choice at private and official levels. This study is in many ways preliminary in nature; only when the whole corpus of seal impressions from Persepolis has been published and subjected to detailed analyses on all levels may we come to make definitive statements on the issues explored here.

Background: The J Texts from the Fortification Archive

The Fortification Tablets were discovered in the fortification wall at the northeast corner of the Persepolis terrace in two small chambers, which may have been archival rooms.¹¹ They record disbursements of foodstuffs from royal storehouses to various levels of administrators, agricultural workers, artists, courtiers, priests, and members of the royal family in the regions of Fars and Elam in the years 509–494 B.C.¹² Many of the tablets carry date formulae, often specific as to month and day of the transaction. In general, commodities are paid out to individuals and groups on a fixed-ration system, the amount of rations determined by need and an individual's status. The seals of the officials and offices mentioned in the texts are commonly impressed on the tablets. The status of these individuals within the system can often be determined by their duties in that system and by the amount of commodities they are issued as rations. Several of the personages are also known from other historical sources, both Greek and Persian. The archive was written almost exclusively in cuneiform Elamite, the language of the political predecessors of the Persians in southwest Iran, the Elamites; the Achaemenids adopted this language for certain types of administrative recording in the early years of their rule in southwest Iran.¹³

One group of texts (J Texts) from the Fortification archive represents a special type of transaction preserved on a relatively small number of texts (fifty-three identified to date).¹⁴ These texts are distinguished by the use of the phrases “dispensed before the king” and “dispensed in behalf of the king.” In some cases a member of the royal family takes the place of the king. The transactions are also notable for the exalted status of many of the individuals

mentioned in the texts and for the sometimes extraordinarily large quantity of foodstuffs involved. The following example of a J Text transaction as recorded in PF 702 is characteristic of the group:

1,783 BAR [of] flour, supplied by Irmada, was dispensed in behalf of the king. [At] Anzammanna. In the 21st year. Karakka and Midasa received [it], total 2 grain handlers.

The exact meaning of the phrase “dispensed in behalf of the king” is unclear, but Hallock suggests that the king may have actually been present at the places where the transactions occurred.¹⁵ Indeed, these texts may not record transactions *per se* but, rather, lists of commodities consumed during the king's travels.¹⁶ Other J Texts dealing with wine or beer replace *ma-ak-ka* (dispensed) with *ki-ut-ka* (expended), again suggesting consumption, not storage or payments. These rations are often extraordinarily large. In PF 702, the 1,783 BAR of flour represent a day's ration (1½ QA) for 11,886 persons.¹⁷ PF 701 records 12,610 BAR of flour! Two grain handlers were also required for that massive shipment. PF 2034 documents 1,333 fowls (some quite exotic). Rare commodities include *ma-du-uk-ka* (salt?), *ba-nu-ra*, and *ra-zi*. The last two commodities occur only in the J Texts and have unknown meanings.

The J Texts are further demarcated by a consistent pattern of seal use. Only seven seals are used to secure the transactions: PFS 7*, PFS 66*, and PFS 93* applied as office seals; PFS 51, PFS 38, PFS 2, and PFS 859* all used as personal seals.¹⁸ The office seals PFS 7*, PFS 66*, and PFS 93* occur only on the J Texts. They clearly represent offices that deal only in these special transactions. PFS 859* also appears only on the J Texts, under somewhat unusual circumstances.¹⁹

In the following discussion I will present these seven seals according to their stylistic qualities, examining the issues of both style and composition they raise. I group certain seals together owing to shared stylistic features. In a few instances other seals from the Fortification archive that do not occur on the J Texts are introduced in order to clarify or expand upon observations evoked by the J Text seals.

“Neo-Elamite” Heirlooms: PFS 93 and PFS 51*

The style and imagery of PFS 93* and PFS 51 clearly show that they belong to a class of seal carving traditionally identified as “Neo-Elamite.” This style has been localized at Susa in southwestern Iran and dated to the period immediately



FIG. 1. PFS 93* on PF 694.

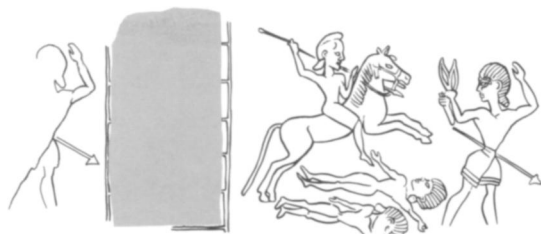


FIG. 2. Line drawing of collated image of PFS 93* (L. Sterner).

[v. k]u-raš
h. an-za-
an-x-
ra DUMU
še-iš-be-
iš-n[a]
"Cyrus the Anshanite, son of Teispes"

Although a matter of some debate, the grandfather of Cyrus the Great has been identified with a vassal king of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal.²² This Cyrus the Anshanite controlled the formerly Elamite holding of Anshan northeast of Susa.

The other "Neo-Elamite" heirloom, PFS 51 (figs. 3–4), is a personal seal belonging to the woman Irdabama.²³ She is known only from the Fortification archive; as Hallock remarks, however, she must certainly be a member of the royal family.²⁴ She uses her personal seal, PFS 51, on six J Texts.²⁵ She also seals two other published transactions in the Fortification archive with PFS 51. In PFa 27 she acts as an addressor in a letter, dispensing grain from her unnamed estate.²⁶ Her seal occurs on PF 1185 ratifying a special ration (M Texts), although she is not mentioned by name in the text.

The exalted social and administrative position of Irdabama accounts for the occurrence of her personal seal in the J Texts. As a member of the royal family, she could expect certain privileges. This is reflected in the T Texts (letters) in the Fortification Tablets, where Irdabama and the queen Irtašduna (using PFS 38, see below, pp. 7–10) are the only women who address letters. Both also seem to have work groups under their control and manage large estates from which they issue rations. They have a special status within the Fortification archive, which seems to allow them the authority to draw upon special royal provisions. In fact, Irtašduna and Irdabama are the only individuals to take the place of the king in the J Texts. These transactions are ratified with the personal seals of these individuals rather than the office seals PFS 7*, PFS 66*, and PFS 93*. This seems to indicate that those offices have been bypassed and that the rations have been issued on the women's personal authority.²⁷

PFS 51 might well be a companion piece to PFS 93*.²⁸ A figure on horseback at far left hunts wild animals. He brandishes a spear above his head in his right hand, while with his left hand he holds the reins of his stallion, which charges ahead to the right in a flying gallop. The horseman wears a knee-length garment, which is belted at the waist. He also wears a headdress that is serrated along the upper edge, giving the effect of a dentate crown. From the back of

preceding Achaemenid rule there (known also as the late Neo-Elamite period). In the case of PFS 93*, the inscription on the seal also indicates its early date.

PFS 93* (figs. 1–2) occurs only on the J Texts, representing an office that ratifies transactions concerning the delivery of cattle "dispensed before the king."²⁰ The seal, mentioned briefly in several publications, is the famous heirloom of the grandfather of Cyrus the Great.²¹

On PFS 93* a warrior on horseback at far left pursues a figure on foot at far right. The horseman wears a knee-length garment and a cap. He brandishes a spear above his head in his right hand, while his left hand appears to hold the reins of his mount, which charges ahead in a flying gallop. The pursued figure, wearing a short garment, moves away to the right. His garment carries two decorative bands at the lower hem. He has already been pierced by a spear through the waist. He turns his head back toward his mounted foe, and, as an act of submission, offers up in his right hand his own bow and empty quiver. Below the horseman lie two dead enemies, stacked one above the other. As preserved, these figures seem to be nude. These two figures, as well as the one on foot, show deep striations in their close-cropped hair. The paneled Elamite inscription, acting as a terminal, reads:

the headdress his hair emerges in a baggy chignon. Before him two wild animals, placed one above the other in the field, gallop away to the right. Each has been struck in the back with a pommeled spear.

Like PFS 93* (figs. 1–2), PFS 51 is a beautifully cut design from the hand of a master engraver. Not only are the figures rendered with assurance and flair, but PFS 51 preserves a bit of three-dimensionality not often attempted even in the most naturalistic periods of Mesopotamian glyptic. The artist has carefully rendered the forward right leg of the horseman as well as indicating the upper part of the left thigh and the hem of the short behind the right leg. The overall effect is a bold rendering of spatial depth and foreshortening.

PFS 93* and PFS 51 also share many compositional and stylistic features and most probably come from the same workshop. Both seals employ the theme of the mounted horseman at far left pursuing his prey at far right. In the case of PFS 93*, the prey are human; in PFS 51, animal. Both scenes have airy compositions, where each figure or group of figures is isolated in space. They both also use the convention of stacked figures (the dead enemy under the horsemen of PFS 93* and the fleeing animals in PFS 51). This particular convention is quite arresting, even for the normally active and free-flowing compositions often seen in this style of glyptic. Rather than evoking reminiscences of glyptic tradition, it calls to mind similar arrangements of figures in monumental wall reliefs from the Nineveh palace of Assurbanipal.²⁹ This shared compositional scheme may indicate active transfer of artistic motifs between southwestern Iran and Assyria in the seventh century B.C. Finally, the poses of the horsemen and their mounts on PFS 93* and PFS 51 are very similar to each other, and all the animals are shown in a flying gallop.

The similarity between the two seals in terms of composition extends to style as well. In both we see schematic human figures, simply rendered in smooth forms, with very large heads. Modeling is controlled, achieved through the use of small, compact masses of slightly swelling musculature. This occurs mainly in the large, barrel-shaped animal bodies; human and animal appendages are thin and brittle. The mounts in both scenes have strong, majestic chests and necks. The marked transition between the hindquarters and the bodies of the equids seen in PFS 51 does not occur on the animal forms of PFS 93*. The human forms on PFS 93* seem more carefully rendered, and the animals are somewhat larger and heavier. In PFS 93* the large human heads sit on long, thin necks, while in PFS 51 the neck is indicated only by a slight triangular swelling of flesh. Both seals show the typical “Neo-



FIG. 3. PFS 51 on PF 736.

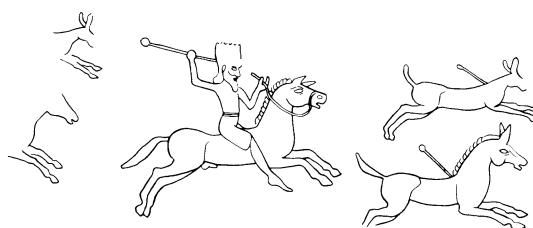


FIG. 4. Line drawing of collated image of PFS 51 (L. Sterner).

Elamite” qualities of thin waists, a slight bow at the lower backs, and soft, puffy shoulders. Thighs and calves swell in large, undifferentiated masses.

As the only securely dated artifact from the pre-empire period, PFS 93* (and by extension its companion PFS 51) is crucial for articulating the sources of stylistic inspiration for Achaemenid art before the reign of Darius. Amiet, in his important discussion of the so-called Neo-Elamite seals, remarks that PFS 93* shows a strong connection to the small corpus of “Neo-Elamite” seals from the Acropolis at Susa.³⁰ The date and style of the Susa sealings have been the focus of much discussion.³¹ To this writer it seems clear that both series of seal impressions from Susa preserve a wide range of styles. Some continue Modeled Style traditions from Assyria and Babylonia³² or variations upon that tradition;³³ others seem to document a distinctive style of glyptic closely related to that seen on PFS 93* and PFS 51.³⁴ This style has traditionally been traced to Susa and labeled “Neo-Elamite.” A select few of the seals associated with the “Neo-Elamite” style stand apart from the run-of-the-mill products, owing to the high quality of their engraving and their rich modeling. The royal heirlooms PFS 93* and



FIG. 5. "Neo-Elamite" seal in the Pierpont Morgan Collection. From E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library 1 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1948), no. 812. Courtesy Edith Porada.

PFS 51 are by far the most carefully engraved of these seals and represent the style at its finest. With these two seals might be included a few others of high quality: two of the Susa Palace of Darius sealings, as well as unprovenanced seals in the Pierpont Morgan Collection (fig. 5), in Brussels, and in a private collection in Tehran.³⁵

The specific stylistic features of this "Neo-Elamite" style include at times schematic human figures, simply rendered in smooth forms, with very large heads. Modeling is controlled, achieved through the use of small, compact masses of slightly swelling musculature. The human figure has a distinctive shape: chests are triangular, waists thin, and thighs and calves swell in large, undifferentiated masses. The shoulders and arms often have a puffy appearance, giving the whole of the upper body a soft, sometimes disjointed look. Animal form is elongated, with sharply differentiated hindquarters, large barrel-shaped bodies, strong chests and necks, and thin, brittle appendages. Compositionally, the style prefers scenes with much movement, usually left to right in the rolled impression, and figures, both animal and human, in action poses. Compositions are also light and airy, with much space between figures and little or no overlapping of figures. The hunt from horseback seems especially popular,³⁶ as do the hunt from chariot³⁷ and the kneeling archer.³⁸ Animal studies and intertwined animals and monstrous creatures round out the main themes in this style.³⁹

The visual qualities of this "Neo-Elamite" style, as well as the themes associated with it, are reflected in an important group of seal impressions found in the Fortification Tablets, probably made toward the middle and end of the sixth century B.C. Similar stylistic features and compositional elements of the "Neo-Elamite" style are also found in some seals cut in the local Fortification Style. The Fortification Style is by far the numerically most significant style found in

the Fortification archive. Seals cut in this style represent an important group of local workshops (see below, pp. 10–12).

It seems striking that PFS 93*, one of the best examples of the "Neo-Elamite" style, carries an inscription naming an early *Achaemenid* king. PFS 51, which must come from the same workshop and is also a seal of exceptional quality, is used in the late sixth century B.C. by an Achaemenid royal woman of very high rank at Persepolis. In addition, many seals on the Fortification Tablets in the late sixth century B.C. at Persepolis are clearly inspired by this "Neo-Elamite" style. Large numbers of seals from the local Fortification Style also have ties to this tradition, which might better be identified not as "Neo-Elamite" but rather as "Neo-Achaemenid" or "Early Persian." Indeed, the evidence strongly suggests that this style has more direct connections to early Persian art and historical figures than to late Neo-Elamite art. The Susa sealings provide an Elamite context for the style, but Susa was at all periods a very cosmopolitan city. Thus, seals of early Persian inspiration would be likely to occur in its archaeological debris.⁴⁰ The Susa sealings as a whole reflect a mixed bag of stylistic traditions; until now, one of these styles has been singled out as "Neo-Elamite" because it occurs only at Susa.⁴¹ That style does not, however, document the continuation of a recognizable Neo-Elamite style of the early first millennium preserved in seals found at Susa. Interestingly, the one seal that carries a royal name inscription of a late Neo-Elamite king is rendered in a style closely related to Modeled Style traditions from *Assyria* and *Babylonia*.⁴² PFS 93*, on the other hand, ties the "Early Persian" style to a specific historical figure of the Achaemenid Persian family, while PFS 51 links the style to another high-ranking member of that family. The many other sealings from Persepolis that show direct and indirect influence of the early style represented by PFS 93* and PFS 51 associate the style intimately with the Persian heartland. Hence the bulk of the evidence argues that this style be most closely identified with the early Persians.⁴³

The presence of PFS 93* and PFS 51 in the corpus of seals preserved on the Fortification Tablets vividly documents a long and active history of seal usage among the Achaemenid elite.⁴⁴ PFS 93* and PFS 51 were probably valued heirlooms for the Achaemenid family, objects that had been passed down for several generations. The fact that PFS 51 belonged to a member of the royal family (perhaps even a queen), and the fact that PFS 93* carries a royal inscription naming an early ruler from the same family, may even suggest that the official(s) who staffed the

office represented by PFS 93* was also a member(s) of the royal family.

The close stylistic and compositional ties between PFS 93* and PFS 51, their occurrence on a very restricted type of transaction, and the high quality of their carving indicate that, together with a few other “Early Perisan” seals (see above, pp. 5–6), they were perhaps consciously selected and preserved for their strong personal appeal within the royal family. These similarities between the two seals—in addition to the way they stand apart from other “Early Persian” seals—also suggest that they are the product of one workshop. Already, then, we see among the early members of the Achaemenid elite a pattern of artistic patronage. The survival of these earlier seals into a later period and their use by members of the royal family cannot be fortuitous but, rather, must mark the remembrance of that earlier period of patronage. Not surprisingly, we can document at a time contemporary to the two women and the Fortification Tablets a similar pattern of royal patronage of select workshops and artists in the royally mandated Court Style (below, pp. 13–20).

Despite their age, the two seals have left some of the clearest impressions among the whole of the archive. The availability of these sealings, as well as the seals themselves, to artists in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. must have played an important role in the renewal of antique imagery and style seen in the seal impressions on the Fortification Tablets. They stand as vivid examples of how antique imagery could be, and was, passed down into later periods.⁴⁵ These traditions would also have been actively preserved in the seal workshops, where stylistic idiom was handed down father to son, master to apprentice.⁴⁶

Archaizing Imagery and Style: PFS 38

In PF 730–31, 733–34, and 2035 commodities are “dispensed for(?)” or “in behalf of [the woman] Irtašduna,” and in PF 732 commodities are “expended in behalf of [the woman] Irtašduna.” All the transactions are sealed by her personal seal, PFS 38 (figs. 6–7).⁴⁷ Irtašduna is a wife of Darius.⁴⁸ Herodotos (VII 69.2) knows her as Artystone and says that she was the daughter of Cyrus and the favorite wife of Darius. She also uses her seal PFS 38 on five letters (T Texts, PF 1835–39), where she acts as an addressor, issuing rations of wine. In three instances these are quite large rations (110 marris) drawn from her estates at Mirandu (PF 1835) and Kuknaka (PF 1836–37).⁴⁹ In PF 733–34 wine is dispensed in behalf of Irtašduna and her son Arsames.⁵⁰ They appear to-

gether also in PF 2035, where beer is expended on their behalf. As mentioned (above, p. 4), Irtašduna and Irdabama are the only individuals to take the place of the king in the J Texts, probably owing to their exalted social rank.

PFS 38 (figs. 6–7) preserves an elaborate version of the heroic encounter in a richly carved Modeled Style.⁵¹ A hero, facing proper left, grasps two rampant, winged, horned, human-headed bulls by a foreleg. The hero has a squared beard that rests over the left shoulder; a thick mass of hair bunches at the back of the neck. From the top of his head emerge some sprays, perhaps a type of headdress. He wears an elaborately decorated version of an Assyrian-type garment, which leaves the forward leg exposed; a dagger sheath projects from the back of the waist. The upper part of the garment carries a series of parallel vertical lines on the right side of the torso and a series of parallel diagonal lines on the left side of the torso; these diagonal lines are carried down onto the lower part of the garment. In the field between the hero and the creature to proper left, there are traces of a figure directly below the lower hoof of the creature (perhaps a frontal nude female?), a rod-like device with



FIG. 6. PFS 38 on PF 1835.



FIG. 7. Line drawing of collated image of PFS 38 (L. Sterner).

thickened ends to either side of the figure, a rhombus, and a forked device (in the upper field). Above the upper wing of the creature to proper right are seven dots (a horizontal line of three dots above a horizontal line of four dots). In the lower field of this vertical zone, there are traces of what appears to be an incense burner. As a terminal there is an elaborate stylized plant device consisting of two superimposed bowls from which emerge vegetal sprays (apparently lilies), some of which hang over the sides of the bowls; petals emerge from the center of the bowls. Another set of petals occurs below the lowest preserved bowl, indicating that there may originally have been another bowl at the base of the device. Over the upper bowl are the torso and head of a male figure contained within a double circle from which radiate rays ending in star bursts. The figure within the disk faces proper left and extends both hands to proper left; in the upper hand he appears to hold a plume-like device (palm frond, fly whisk, or large feather?), which extends upward to proper left. He appears to wear a polos-type headdress.

The seal belongs stylistically with a relatively large group of seals from the Fortification Tablets showing close ties to earlier seal-carving traditions from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods (fig. 8).⁵² This Neo-Assyrian/Neo-Babylonian style is usually labeled the "Modeled Style" and has long been recognized as an important glyptic tradition. Little work has been done, however, to articulate fully the formal characteristics of the style in either the Neo-Assyrian or the Neo-Babylonian periods.⁵³ The seal impressions from the Fortification Tablets document the continuation, in a slightly modified form, of this Modeled Style tradition in the Achaemenid context.⁵⁴ The Persepolitan Modeled Style shares the tall figures and large, modeled volumes, but generally

the musculature is not as hard, nor the detailing as elaborate, as the earlier Modeled Style of Assyria and Babylonia. PFS 38 stands closer to the older tradition in the elaborate treatment of the hero's garment (the hard linearity and exact pattern of the decoration find no parallel, however, in the Assyro-Babylonian Modeled Style), the seven dots representing the Pleiades, and the rhombus in the field.⁵⁵ The elaborate plant device is found on Assyrian seals, but it also frequently occurs in the ivories from Nimrud that have been associated with a "southern tradition" of ivory carving from Syria-Palestine.⁵⁶ If there is in fact a frontal nude female, this figure would also connect the design to earlier seal-carving traditions in Syria.⁵⁷ The subdued use of modeling in both human and animal forms and the soft, fluffy treatment of the three rows of feathers on the wings of the creatures place the seal in the Persepolitan context.

The overall stylistic qualities of PFS 38 belong, then, with the Persepolitan Modeled Style, which clearly draws inspiration from earlier Mesopotamian seal-carving traditions. The iconography of PFS 38 draws upon not only Assyrian but also Syrian precedents.

A most interesting aspect of PFS 38 is the fact that, even at a time when we know that the official Court Style in seal art had appeared in its fully developed form (see below, pp. 13–20), the queen Irtašduna chose a figural style with archaizing allusions to Assyrian art. She was not alone, for the Fortification Tablets preserve the seals of many high-ranking individuals whose preferences leaned toward the older



FIG. 8. Neo-Assyrian Modeled Style seal in the British Museum (89145). Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



FIG. 9. PFS 9* on PF 659.



FIG. 10. Line drawing of collated image of PFS 9* (L. Sterner).

Assyro-Babylonian styles rather than toward the more current Court Style. Perhaps the best example of this phenomenon is provided by the most important functionary in the Fortification archive, Parnaka, the son of Arsam.⁵⁸ His first seal, PFS 9* (figs. 9–10), a heroic encounter with Assyrianizing iconography rendered in the local Fortification Style, Parnaka replaced on the sixteenth day of the third month of the twenty-second year in the reign of Darius the Great (6 June 500 B.C.).⁵⁹ His new seal, PFS 16* (figs. 11–12), another heroic encounter, was a dramatic and spectacular work of art, probably a commissioned piece cut just before June 500 B.C.⁶⁰ Clearly the product of an artist of exceptional talent, PFS 16* bespeaks the vitality of the Assyrianizing seal-carving tradition down into the early part of the fifth century B.C. The artist shows a complete control of line and detail, every contour finished in an almost calligraphic line. The carving achieves a wonderfully expressive effect through dramatic modeling and emphatic pose and gesture. The treatment of the quivering muscles in the backs and lower bodies of the lions in small, compacted oval volumes, and the pose of the lions with one paw upraised and back to the viewer, find striking parallels in the Assyrian royal seal type (fig. 13) and monumental wall reliefs (fig. 14), to mention only two examples.

Parnaka, Irtašduna, and others like them whose seals are preserved on the Fortification Tablets show that many of the elite at court had varied artistic tastes and actively pursued artists who could accommodate those tastes. A study of the Fortification Tablet texts and seal impressions creates a very different picture of the royal family, advisors, and administrators

surrounding the great king than that painted in the Greek sources. Rather than shameless sycophants, we see individuals (both men and women) who wield power, travel widely, give orders, and patronize artistic styles suited to their own taste, even when those tastes differ radically from that emanating from the official center most closely associated with the king. This has far-reaching implications for our



FIG. 13. Assyrian royal seal type found impressed on a bulla (British Museum SM 2276).

The cuneiform text reads: "the *ilku* which Sargon took from the *bēl pihāti*." Dated to 715 B.C. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



FIG. 11. PFS 16* on PF 665.



FIG. 12. Line drawing of collated image of 16* (L. Sterner).



FIG. 14. Relief panel (British Museum 124886-7) from Room S(1), North Palace of King Assurbanipal at Nineveh, showing king and lion. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

understanding of Achaemenid culture and should force us to rethink the traditional (hostile) Hellenocentric view of life under the Achaemenid Persian kings.⁶¹

Seals such as PFS 38 and PFS 16* also raise interesting questions about the transmission of older seal-carving traditions. Unlike PFS 93* and PFS 51, both clearly heirlooms from the pre-empire period, the seals of Irtašduna and Parnaka were probably cut sometime in the late sixth century B.C. Older seals may have served as inspiration, and indeed the Fortification Tablets are ratified by a few examples of what may be Modeled Style seals dating to the earlier period. These seal-carving traditions must also, however, have been perpetuated in the glyptic workshops. Despite the upheavals associated with the disintegration of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, seal artists continued to provide products for the administrators and bureaucrats in cities such as Babylon. It should be remembered that Cyrus' entry into Babylon in 539 B.C. seems to have been a peaceful one. The day-to-day legal and economic transactions, as well as those associated with court bureaucrats, probably continued without interruption.⁶² Under these circumstances, craft methods could continue to be handed down, masters to apprentices, across generations. Because seal artists were relatively mobile, owing to the few tools and materials needed to practice their craft, they would have been sheltered from the rise and fall of the political fortunes of large states. These artists most likely traveled to those places where commissions existed, be it Nimrud, Nineveh, Susa, Babylon, Pasargadae, or any imperial or provincial center. In this way seal-carving traditions moved from one place to another and survived into the late sixth century B.C. The building program at Persepolis and the large number of people in the bureaucracy needing seals must have drawn artists from throughout Mesopotamia and Elam. These artists brought with them, and perpetuated, carving styles inherited and learned in the seal workshops of these areas. PFS 93* and PFS 51 remind us that a tradition of seal usage and artistic patronage existed among the Achaemenid elite. So far we have only a glimpse of this patronage, but there is every reason to believe that rulers after the time of Cyrus son of Teispes would have continued similar practices with artists trained in the workshops in Elam, Persia, Assyria, or Babylonia.

*The Local Fortification Style: PFS 66**

PFS 66* occurs only in the J Texts, and it is limited to transactions concerning the delivery of flour. The



FIG. 15. PFS 66a* on PF 702.



FIG. 16. Line drawing of collated image of PFS 66a* (L. Sterner).

seal is applied on the left, right, or upper edges of the tablet and is always accompanied by PFS 7*, applied on the reverse of the tablet. It thus seems that the office represented by PFS 66* could not authorize transactions of its own accord but needed the counterseal of PFS 7*.⁶³ Hallock suggests that the office be identified as the royal miller.⁶⁴

Research subsequent to Hallock's has shown that there are two different versions of PFS 66*: PFS 66a* (figs. 15–16) and PFS 66b* (figs. 17–18). PFS 66a* can definitely be identified on PF 701 and 702; PFS 66b* on PF 699 and 700 and perhaps also on PF 704.⁶⁵ On PF 703 and PF 704 the impressions are too fragmentary to reveal which version of the seal they carry. The compositions of the two versions are identical, as are their inscriptions; they differ in the spacing of figures and the rendering of certain details of human and animal anatomy, although stylistically they are very similar. On PFS 66b* the torso of the human figure is wider and more flatly engraved; the winged creature at far right has a longer beak, which is rendered differently, and the upper wing emerges directly out of the lower wing (cf. PFS 66a*, where the upper wing emerges out of the neck of the creature). Impressions of PFS 66b* are sharp and clear, those of PFS 66a* rather blurred. PFS 66a* seems to have been a heavily worn seal.

Presently, the two tablets upon which PFS 66a* can be identified positively, PF 701 and 702, both date to 502–501 B.C. The two tablets on which PFS 66b* can be identified positively, PF 699 and 700, date to 498–497 B.C. and 499–498 B.C., respectively. Since PFS 66a* seems to be a very worn seal, which cannot be



FIG. 17. PFS 66b* on PF 700.



FIG. 18. Line drawing of collated image of PFS 66b* (L. Sterner).

documented after the use of PFS 66b*, and since the seals occur on a very restricted type of transaction and show the exact same composition, we may infer that PFS 66a* was replaced by PFS 66b* sometime after 502 B.C. and before 498 B.C.⁶⁶ Perhaps the worn quality of PFS 66a* became a source of concern, given the importance of the transactions, so a new seal was commissioned. Such duplication of important seals is documented in other archival contexts in the Near East.⁶⁷

At the far left of PFS 66a* and PFS 66b* a seated figure looks out to proper left. The right forearm extends out horizontally just above the lap, the hand holding a flower blossom. The left arm is bent and held above the right arm, the hand open to expose the palm. The figure appears to wear a long robe. The hair is worn in a small chignon at the back of the head; a pointed chin may indicate a short beard. The figure sits upon a backless stool. The stool in PFS 66a* carries a pattern of cross-hatching, possibly to indicate webbing, and each leg has two rounded moldings. A bearded figure holding a staff before his body approaches the seated figure from the right. He wears a tunic and trousers. Behind this figure, also moving towards the seated figure, is a rampant winged, bird-headed lion. The paneled Aramaic inscription, which acts as a terminal, reads:

[m]n vītp⁶⁸

On PFS 66a* there are faint traces of a horizontal line above the head of the seated figure, several vertical lines just before the face, as well as a horizontal line in the field between the seated figure and the staff-bearer. These traces could be the remnants of an

inscription, in which case the seal would have been recut to produce the present design, but this cannot be determined with any certainty.

A strict sense of hierarchical scale is observed in the design; the seated figure is larger than both the standing figure and the rampant creature. Stylistically, PFS 66a* (figs. 15–16) shows a very plain engraving of shallow depth, but this may be the result of heavy wear or recutting of the seal.⁶⁹ The outline is at times irregular and blurred. The human figures are small and thin, with no interior differentiation of musculature or drapery. The large, round head sits on a long, thin neck. The upper torsos of both human figures are rendered in profile, with the forward shoulder and upper arm separated slightly from the torso by deeper engraving. The torso of the seated figure has a hiatus at the waist, giving the appearance of two completely separate forms. The winged creature exhibits the same simple engraving as seen on the human figures. The lion body has a sharply arched back, low, heavy hindquarters, and short legs. Wings carry one row of feathers and curl upward at the tips. The hindquarters swell slightly in a single mass. Transitions are sharply delineated at the lower belly and between the lion neck and bird head. The composition is carefully arranged so that figures do not overlap; each exists in an isolated space.

PFS 66b* (figs. 17–18) exhibits much the same style.⁷⁰ The engraving of the seal is sharper, so that each figure stands out more clearly, but flatter than that on PFS 66a*. The seated figure has a continuous torso with no hiatus at the waist. Overall, the outline of the human figures on PFS 66b* seems less fluid, more stiff and angular. The bird head on the creature is longer and thinner than that on PFS 66a* and held at a higher angle.

Both versions of PFS 66* belong to a style of seal carving I have termed the “Fortification Style,”⁷¹ since the Fortification Tablets include the impressions of many seals executed in this style.⁷² Although showing a good deal of variation, the style is distinguished by engraving of shallow to medium depth, with very simple figures and starkly plain surface treatment. Animal forms tend to be more plastic than human. As mentioned previously, a few elements of style and imagery on select seals in the Fortification Style show connections to “Early Persian” seal-carving traditions. Overall, however, the Fortification Style represents something new and unknown outside of the Persepolis impressions. Since the style is so prevalent in the Fortification archive and is almost nonexistent in museum collections, we may conclude that it represents a local seal-carving tradition native to the area of Persepolis or southwestern Iran in general.⁷³ This

style evidently flourished under the reign of Darius, when the area of Fars became an important administrative center of the empire and drew large numbers of administrators needing seals.

Oddities: PFS 2

In PF 710 from the J Texts Irtuppiya uses his personal seal, PFS 2 (figs. 19–20), which he also uses quite often in transactions outside of the J Texts.⁷⁴ In other J Texts, Irtuppiya is a frequent supplier of grain, barley loaves, *ra-zi*, *tarmu* grain, and *ba-nu-ra*.⁷⁵ All these transactions are secured by PFS 7*. Outside of the J Texts, Irtuppiya is an official of high rank: his seal PFS 2 is the second most commonly occurring seal in the archive and one of the few needing no counterseal to ratify transactions.

In light of his importance within the administrative system, it is not surprising to find Irtuppiya playing such a prominent role in the J Texts. Nevertheless, the single occurrence of his seal PFS 2 in the J Texts is striking. The transaction is, however, unusual and somewhat vague.⁷⁶ It seems to involve the provisioning of cattle that had already been “dispensed in behalf of the king.” In other words, the cattle had already been received (the transaction not preserved in the Fortification archive but sealed, as normal, with PFS 93*), and this shipment constitutes a later transaction in which grain is brought in to feed the cattle. The fact that Irtuppiya uses his own seal PFS 2 indicates that the normal channels are not followed in this transaction; perhaps Irtuppiya, who had wide connections within the system, was called upon for the emergency provisioning of these cattle.⁷⁷



FIG. 19. PFS 2 on PF 710.

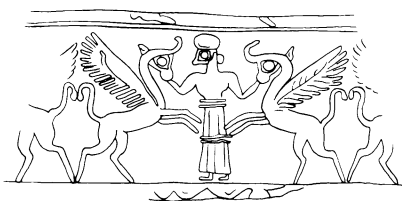


FIG. 20. Line drawing of collated image of PFS 2 (L. Sterner).

PFS 2 (figs. 19–20) preserves a traditional version of the heroic encounter theme (hero controlling two rampant winged creatures); however, certain features of iconography and style are unusual, and as a whole the seal finds few stylistic parallels in or outside of the corpus of seal impressions found on the Fortification Tablets.⁷⁸ It has an elegant, refined quality coupled with a severely abstracted geometric approach to select passages. The human head is a square outline within which a huge round eye dominates the entire field. Animal heads exhibit the same geometric approach, but they are triangular in outline. The straight lines of the square human head and triangular animal heads are dramatically highlighted by the heavy drill work in the eyes and noses, as well as in the cap of hair and chignon at the back of the human head. The rendering of the hero's skirt, which shows a rigid geometric precision in its horizontal and vertical striations, finds no exact parallel among the seal impressions on the Fortification Tablets. The abstract geometry of the faces yields, however, to an elegant, elongated line in human and animal bodies. A smooth, undulating rhythm runs the entire length of the animal bodies, carried through even into the horns of the composite creatures. The long delicate forelegs, slightly bent, seem almost brittle. Volumes swell in small masses of animal flesh, contained within a tight, expressive outline. Horizontal borders occur at the top and bottom of the design. Triangular markings, perhaps traces of seal caps, run along part of the outside edges of these borders. Overall, the seal seems stylistically out of place in our archive, but the careful and accomplished engraving suggests a master artist.⁷⁹

The seal of Irtuppiya, PFS 2, represents a considerable number of seals in a wide range of styles with no immediately recognizable link to known glyptic traditions, either Achaemenid or earlier. These seals suggest that some patrons may have acquired their seals in areas far removed from Fars and Elam and that those seals have yet to appear in museum collections or in the archaeological record. As recorded in the Fortification travel texts (Q Texts), some officials journeyed from as far afield as Sardis (PF 1321), Bactria (PF 1287), and India (PF 1318). There was thus probably ample opportunity for a high-ranking official to travel and to purchase a seal outside of Fars. Conversely, since the style of PFS 2 has affinities with a few seals from the Fortification archive, it may come from a local workshop or artist who specialized in a particular style that appears only rarely in the archive. Future research into the many unstudied impressions may yield more evidence of this hand. The seal shows how an important official in the system can reach

outside the normal network of seal engravers (whether the seal is an unusual local product or a provincial one) to acquire a distinctive seal style unrelated to current trends. Perhaps he was mindful of his status and the importance of his sealed transactions and took care to select a highly distinctive style.

The Court Style: PFS 7 and PFS 859**

The term “Court Style” was first used by John Boardman to describe a special class of Achaemenid Persian glyptic, which he said was cut “broadly” in “the style of the earlier Achaemenid sculpture in Persia,” with some “influence of immigrant Greek artists.”⁸⁰ Working exclusively with the relatively small number of seal impressions from the Treasury Tablets and unprovenanced seals in museum collections, Boardman was forced, I think, to invoke the architectural reliefs from Persepolis and Greek art—the only

known stylistic parallels that could anchor his analysis. The Fortification archive contains many important examples of the Court Style, and from close study of these seals we may now articulate more precisely the exact nature of the style, its origins and evolution, and its meaning within the greater context of Achaemenid imperial art. The Court Style seals from Persepolis also raise important issues pertaining to early Achaemenid monumental relief.⁸¹ PFS 7* (figs. 21–22) and to a lesser extent PFS 859* (figs. 23–24) are critical to the discussion.

As Hallock points out, PFS 7* is an office seal used by unnamed subordinates acting on behalf of the king in acquiring foodstuffs. This office ratifies transactions involving all types of commodities except cattle, which fell to the office represented by PFS 93*.⁸² Of the office seals on the J Texts, PFS 7* occurs most frequently, and one suspects that this office held the most authority of the three.⁸³

PFS 7* (figs. 21–22) is a very important seal for our understanding of the Court Style.⁸⁴ The scene shows a crowned figure engaged in a heroic encounter. He stands upright, facing proper left, arms stretched out straight above shoulder level to grasp two rampant, winged bulls by the horn. A figure in a winged disk who hovers directly over the head of the hero faces proper left and raises both arms before his chest. No impression currently known preserves the upper part of the head of this figure, but one would expect him to be crowned. The tail and two wings of the winged disk have the broad, rectilinear forms that also occur on the winged disk at Behistun, tomb facades at Persepolis, and PTS 2*, PTS 15, and PTS 26.⁸⁵ A tendril depends from either side of the tail, terminating in a hook. Date palms frame the scene. Imbricate hatching denotes the bark on each tree, which has a bulbous cluster of fruit depending to each side. The paneled inscription, in Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian, acts as a terminal:⁸⁶

a-d-m : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : XŠ
v.u v.da-ri-ia-na-u-iš EŠŠANA
ana-ku m.da-ri-ia-muš LUGAL. GAL
“I (am) Darius, Great King”

Relatively few seals used on the Fortification Tablets carry inscriptions, and PFS 7* is one of only four seals from the archive that bear the name of the Great King.⁸⁷ I know of only four other seals inscribed with the name of Darius that can be attributed to Darius I.⁸⁸

The hero wears the Persian court robe and dentate crown with studded band. The garment shows detailing around the outer edges on the torso. Double



FIG. 21. PFS 7* on PF 702.

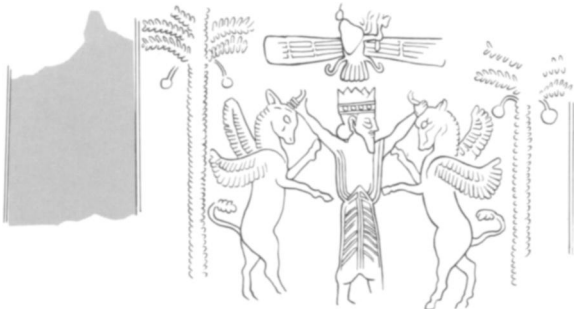


FIG. 22. Line drawing of collated image of PFS 7* (L. Sterner).



FIG. 23. PFS 859* on PF 691.



FIG. 24. Line drawing of collated image of PFS 859* (L. Sterner).

vertical folds run down the center of the lower garment, with pendant catenaries indicated. The hero's beard terminates in a blunt point over the left shoulder. His hair bunches up at the end with a slight curl, almost in the form of a chignon. A strong jaw line starts directly under the base of the crown, runs down vertically to the jaw, then continues diagonally to the beard. A slight curl next to the jaw line just below the crown indicates the ear. The mouth is straight, the large eye oval and set at a diagonal, the nose straight and prominent. The dentate crown has five points.⁸⁹ Four bosses enclosed in horizontal bands decorate the lower part of the crown.

Each bull has two slender, curved wings: one placed horizontally from the back, the other diagonally. The wings consist of two rows of feathers. The lower wing comes across the shoulder of the creatures, the top line of the wing rib arching down toward the lower foreleg.

Stylistically, PFS 7* is an early example of the fully developed Court Style as found in the seal impressions from Persepolis. The seal belongs to the work of an accomplished artist, whose production I have recently isolated in the seal impressions from the Fortification and Treasury Tablets. He seems to have been a leading figure in the development of the Court Style at Persepolis.⁹⁰ Attention to detail is the hallmark of all the early Persepolitan artists working in the Court Style. Here we note especially the details on the Persian court robe and the crown of the hero, the wings and forelegs of the bull creatures, the feathers and tendrils of the winged disk, and the imbricate markings on the trunks of the date palms. Engraving is of medium depth. The Persian court



FIG. 25. Door jamb relief from the Palace of Darius at Persepolis, showing heroic encounter. Courtesy Margaret Cool Root.

robe tends to swallow and hide the body, although the artist shows some interest in musculature in the upper body, where we see the slightly bulging outline of the hero's thick arms and the triangular mass of swelling flesh at the neck. Drapery has a doughy texture. The upper part of the garment has a heavy outline, which flairs outwards at the lower hem, running to rounded ends and clinging to the body.

The winged bulls are magnificent creatures. The large, barrel-chested bodies are broad and flatly engraved, with a sharp, sinuous outline. The artist has given a more plastic treatment to the hindquarters of the creature to proper left, the forward hind leg swelling slightly in a single, simple mass. A calligraphic "S" line marks the front of the chest. The forelegs of the creatures display exceptionally careful execution. Hoofs, knee joints, and bags of flesh just above the hoofs add wonderful touches of realism, as do the delicate snouts. As in all Persepolitan Court Style seals, the composition is dominated by a strict sense of verticality and symmetry.

PFS 859* occurs on only one text, PF 691, where cattle are dispersed in behalf of the king. Why PFS 859* is used here rather than PFS 93*, the seal used for all other cattle transactions in the J Texts,

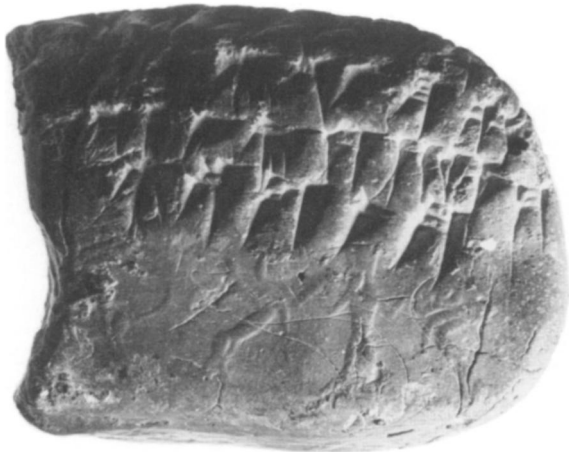


FIG. 26. PFS 34 on PF 151.

cannot readily be explained.⁹¹ Perhaps the person controlling the office represented by PFS 93* did not have access to his office seal at the time that the transaction recorded on PF 691 needed to be sealed and so used his personal seal PFS 859* to secure it. The tablet is indeed sealed on both the left edge and the reverse by PFS 859* and thus required no counterseal (transactions secured by PFS 93* also never require a counterseal). The style and imagery of PFS 859* suggest a highly placed individual, and, as I have argued above (pp. 6–7), the individual staffing the office of PFS 93* clearly must have been of very high social status, probably even a member of the Achaemenid family. The exceptionally fine execution of the seal and its style suggest an owner of elite social status.

Although only partially preserved, PFS 859* (figs. 23–24) was clearly a very large and magnificent seal; unfortunately, only part of the upper segment of the design is preserved on the tablet PF 691.⁹² A heroic figure dressed in the Persian court robe, bow and tasseled quiver on his back, facing proper left, extends his left hand to grasp a rampant horned lion by the horn. In his right hand he holds a large dagger, which he plunges into the chest of the lion creature. The creature pushes its right paw against the hero's left biceps. The quiver is attached to the hero's back with several straps and carries at least three arrows. A beautifully engraved inscription, acting as a terminal, is only partially preserved and, unfortunately, cannot be read.

The seal is cut in a broad version of the Court Style, but I have not yet been able to isolate the individual hand in other seal impressions from the Fortification archive.⁹³ The rendering of the human anatomy follows normal conventions for the Court Style, with the exception of the round head, which sits upon a thick



FIG. 27. PFS 168 on PF 1667.

cylindrical neck. Although it is difficult to discern, the hero seems beardless. A thick mass of hair bunches high at the back of the neck. The profile of the animal creature's face cannot be paralleled, although the spiked mane appears in other seals of the Court Style and the Modeled Style. The composition is quite striking, as is the profile view of the upper torso of the hero. Such views are not unknown in the seal impressions preserved on the Fortification archive, but the one on PFS 859* is handled with a good deal of flair. We see not only the profile shoulder but also what seems to be the billowing pocket of the arm hole of the garment. The carefully rendered garment and weapons, as well as the distinctive treatment of the profile torso and head of the hero, give the design an air of sophistication not normally seen in the seal impressions from this archive. This scene bears a striking resemblance to the door jamb reliefs in the Palace of Darius on the Persepolis terrace (fig. 25).⁹⁴ The similarity of composition, the unusual profile view of the hero, and the extreme care in the execution of the overall design suggest that the wall reliefs and this seal have similar sources of inspiration.⁹⁵ The tablet on which PFS 859* occurs is dated to the nineteenth year of Darius, 503–502 B.C.

PFS 7* and PFS 859* attest to the strength and maturity of the Court Style within the glyptic medium and reflect a fully conceived notion of stylistic and iconographic attributes; this already by 503–502 B.C., the earliest usage dates we have for both seals. Other seals from the Fortification archive show features related to both the style and iconography of the Court Style and thus provide important documentation on this style's early experimental stages. As examples I offer the work of two distinctive hands, artists who seem to follow a general set of iconographic and stylistic mandates but whose work does not quite have the same impact as PFS 7* and PFS 859*.

The first hand, whom I have called the Artist of the Crowned Heroes, survives in numerous seals from the Fortification archive, of which I include here PFS 34 (fig. 26) and PFS 168 (fig. 27).⁹⁶ Stylistically, he is working within the local Fortification Style tradition, but certain aspects of iconography and composition suggest linkages to the Court Style. He prefers

small, thin figures for both human and animals. The rectangular body of the human figure is typical of the Fortification Style, as are the long, attenuated animal forms. Yet there also seems to be a strong connection, seen especially in PFS 34, to PFS 93* and PFS 51 of the "Early Persian" style. Note the manner in which the hind legs of the animals are held together and the sharp articulation between the hindquarters and the bodies. These conventions find close parallels in the "Early Persian" heirloom PFS 51 (figs. 3–4). The animal forms in PFS 34 are, however, more attenuated than normally seen in the "Early Persian" style, reflecting the tendency in the local Fortification Style toward thinner form. The artist treats in a very distinctive manner the union of the forelegs, chest, and wings of the animal creatures. The upper rib of the wing comes down across the shoulder, linking into the lower foreleg. A separate passage sits above this, representing the chest; it in turn joins with the upper foreleg. This rendering of the wing, chest, and foreleg is often found in a relatively large group of seals from Persepolis that show connections to earlier Assyro-Babylonian Modeled Style seal-carving traditions. The almost universal occurrence of the dentate crown and the sharply articulated jaw lines on human heads place the artist within the same milieu as the Court Style. His compositions are very formal (Court Style again) but often spacious (cf. PFS 51 and PFS 93*). For garments he uses both the Persian court robe and the old-fashioned Assyrian-type garment. In sum, this artist's main training seems to lie in the local Fortification Style, but he perpetuates select stylistic features of Assyro-Babylonian and "Early Persian" styles. Certain details of iconography betray his exposure to Court Style influences.

An artist who works even closer to the Court Style is the Artist of the Pendant Robe.⁹⁷ As with the Artist of the Crowned Heroes, his work appears frequently, and he has a very distinctive hand. I illustrate four of his works here, PFS 52, PFS 95, PFS 102, and PFS 301. All seals preserve his trademark treatment of the

upper part of the Persian court robe as a large swag of drapery depending from either side of a long, thin human torso. He seems to be working very close to the traditions of the Artist of the Crowned Heroes but struggling to come to grips with a more formal, and more monumental, expression. On PFS 52 (fig. 28) the creature to the hero's proper right is almost an exact replica of that seen on PFS 34 (fig. 26).⁹⁸ Note, however, that the animal forms seem thicker, a tendency even more pronounced in the lion to the hero's proper left. Although rather awkwardly rendered, the more modeled technique used in the heavy massive neck and chest and thick forelegs with medial striations and spiky claws reveals a desire to aggrandize. The composition is beginning to follow a pattern of verticals (note the lion) and horizontals. On PFS 95 (fig. 29) we see the same treatment of the lions.⁹⁹ This seal preserves especially well his rendering of the Persian court robe; while the idiosyncratic treatment of the upper part of the garment is a trait limited to this artist, the depiction of the lower garment with two parallel central vertical folds and pendant catenaries appears often in the Court Style (e.g., PFS 7* [figs. 21–22]). PFS 102 (fig. 30) may be his most accomplished piece.¹⁰⁰ The human form and garment are unchanged, but his animal form is strong and assured in this design. These bulls are magnificent creatures; the outline is controlled, suggesting power in the gracefully arched backs of the bulls and delicacy in the sensitive detailing in the heads. These bulls are every bit the equal of those seen on PFS 7*. The composition is a little loose (note the excessive length of the hero's arms—necessary to bridge the space that the more massive animal forms require), but it has the same staccato arrangement of verticals and horizontals and strong sense of symmetry seen in PFS 7* and most Court Style designs from Persepolis. Lastly, the fragmentary PFS 301 (fig. 31),¹⁰¹ whose design is very difficult to reconstruct because it has been over-rolled by another seal. Nevertheless, we clearly see the distinctive rendering of the Persian court robe as well as new iconographic features: the dentate crown and the bow and quiver. The animal forms are only partially preserved, but we notice the same schematic treatment of the lion's snout in PFS 52 (fig. 28) and PFS 95 (fig. 29); the animal form may



FIG. 28. PFS 52 on PF 1767.



FIG. 29. PFS 95 on PF 1139.

be the heaviest this artist ever attempts. The thick wings with three to four rows of soft feathers are mainstream Court Style.

These two artists represent the early, experimental stages of the formation of the Court Style. These hands, along with other artists and individual seal designs preserved among the seal impressions in the Fortification archive, suggest that the complex development of the Achaemenid Court Style in seals involved a series of innovations and experiments by a few glyptic specialists within the context of several existing seal-carving traditions, especially the Assyro-Babylonian Modeled Style, the local Fortification Style, and the "Early Persian" style.¹⁰² Some seals from the Fortification Tablets seem to reflect early experimental designs mixing features of what becomes the Court Style with features from these earlier glyptic traditions.¹⁰³ The stylistic origin and evolution of the Court Style in seals, then, was an almost purely glyptic phenomenon. Its formal similarity to the architectural wall reliefs at Persepolis does not indicate that the seal artists copied the wall reliefs. Rather, it shows that both phenomena had the same ultimate source of formal inspiration: the imperial program carefully planned under the direction of the Great King and his closest advisors.¹⁰⁴ The reign of Darius has long been recognized as the critical period in the canonization of official Achaemenid art; the thrust of this effort included not only architectural relief at Persepolis (and presumably other imperial capitals) but also seals and coinage.¹⁰⁵

This particular reading of the Court Style is, I think, very different from what Boardman had in mind. Freed from the wall reliefs and placed within the larger contexts of seal impressions preserved on the Fortification Tablets and of an imperial program of artistic expression, the Court Style seals become an important set of documents for understanding the

manipulation of art for propagandistic purposes and can supplement the information gleaned about such questions from the architectural reliefs and coinage. Obviously, all the phenomena are related, since they are responding to the same stimulus: demands by the royal patron for a visual language of control and empire. The Court Style in seals, however, owes its particular *stylistic* qualities to experimentations within the seal workshops.¹⁰⁶

Interestingly, only a few scenes (primarily heroic encounter, archer, presentation scenes, and scenes of worship with an altar) are documented in the Court Style seals provenanced at Persepolis. This would suggest that the official glyptic imagery was tightly controlled. It is also interesting to compare the imagery of the Court Style with the imagery of the "Early Persian" heirlooms PFS 93* and PFS 51. Those seals represent the conscious selection of a particular style and imagery by earlier Achaemenid royalty. The horseman (both hunter and warrior) dominates this imagery. The theme of the horseman is perpetuated down into the time of Darius in literary tradition through Herodotus' account (III.88) of Darius winning the empire by virtue of his horse and his groom Oebares; Herodotus (I.136) also records that every young Persian was taught three main things: to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth. Darius I preserves much the same tradition in his tomb inscription (DNb):

Trained I am both with hands and feet. As a horseman I am a good horseman. As a bowman I am a good bowman both afoot and on horseback. As a spearman I am a good spearman both afoot and on horseback.

Darius' appeal to this particular Achaemenid tradition of great horsemanship in his tomb inscription (the same tradition that was circulating among Herodotus' sources) does not find overt expression in official architectural wall relief, coinage, or



FIG. 30. PFS 102 on PF 154.



FIG. 31. PFS 301 on PF 1230.

glyphic.¹⁰⁷ Rather, the new imperial vision involves a static balance of cosmic forces (control and order) centering on the figure of the Great King.¹⁰⁸ Viewed in this context, the visual imagery of PFS 7* seems even more striking and evocative of Achaemenid concepts of world order. Darius and his planners consciously abandoned the free-flowing, active, in some respects suspenseful scenes of the horseman, placing in their stead a more formal imagery; in the case of the heroic encounter, this imagery was drawn from an age-old Mesopotamian theme, resonating with royal overtones from Assyria. Seen thus as an expression of patron mandate rather than simply the imitation in small-scale art of monumental reliefs, the Court Style in seals may in addition contribute substantially to several aspects of the discussion of the architectural reliefs.

PFS 7* and PFS 859* hold a key place in the evolution of the Court Style in glyptic art since they are two of the earliest dated examples (503–502 B.C.) of the style in its fully developed form. This is critical, for it means that already by 503–502 B.C. official Achaemenid seal art had been canonized. We may take this date as a terminus before which the early experimental stages of the Court Style will have occurred since the presence of a seal on the Persepolis tablets represents only the usage dates of the seal, not its dates of manufacture. Unfortunately, we are not in a position at the moment to know how much earlier, since the Fortification Tablets begin only in 509 B.C. and before that date we have no securely dated examples of the Court Style in glyptic.

One important aspect of the Court Style in glyptic is the consistent pattern of its iconographic details—the crowned hero in the Persian court robe, date palms, the figure in a winged disk, paneled inscriptions—many shared with monumental relief. Thus, if we find these iconographic elements in monumental reliefs of an earlier date, we might postulate that the Court Style in glyptic also existed then. It is very possible that some or many of the Court Style seals and experimental pieces found on the Fortification Tablets may predate 509 B.C. Only a few surviving examples of large-scale relief predate the Fortification Tablets, the most important being the architectural reliefs at Pasargadae, the rock-cut relief at Behistun, and the tomb facade relief of Darius at Naqsh-e Rostam.¹⁰⁹ The archaizing style of the Behistun monument removes it from this particular discussion.¹¹⁰ Iconographically, the tomb relief of Darius at Naqsh-e Rostam, dated by Root to early in the reign of Darius (after 518 B.C.), shows many of the features that also appear in the Court Style: the Persian court robe, dentate crown, and the figure in a winged disk.¹¹¹ The

similarity of these iconographic details on the tomb relief of Darius at Naqsh-e Rostam to those on Court Style seals preserved in the Fortification Tablets may suggest that the early formative phases of the Achaemenid Court Style in seals date back to the years 520–510 B.C.

Because of the debate over the date of the reliefs from Palace P at Pasargadae,¹¹² the Court Style can be less securely tied to those reliefs, which clearly show the distinctive rendering of the Persian court robe. In fact, the seals from the Fortification Tablets may yield some new insight into the dating of the Palace P reliefs. One objection to the dating of these reliefs in the reign of Cyrus has been their distinctive rendering of the Persian Court robe in a style that seems better dated to the time of Darius. The seal impressions from the Fortification Tablets prove without a doubt that, at least at the end of the sixth century B.C., several stylistic idioms were current, some echoing older seal-carving traditions from Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam (see above, pp. 3–10), others reflecting more recent developments (e.g., the Court Style and the Fortification Style). This multiplicity of styles shows that a patron, especially a royal one, had choices. Parnaka's selection of a strongly Assyrianizing seal design for his second seal PFS 16* in 500 B.C. exemplifies a highly placed patron exercising just such an option. Thus, Root's contention that the canonical depiction of the Persian court robe need not *a priori* postdate Behistun receives support from the fact that different styles appear side by side in the seal impressions from Persepolis.¹¹³ Indeed, the linear evolution of style and of the rendering of drapery patterns that occurs in Greek art is really quite foreign in the Mesopotamian/Iranian context.

Surprisingly, the Court Style is relatively rare among the seal impressions preserved on the Fortification Tablets. Of the 328 seals included in fascicle I of the catalogue raisonné, only 15 (4.57 percent) are cut in the fully developed Court Style. Many of these seals belong to high-ranking individuals or offices. Preliminary research on the rest of the seal impressions in the archive shows a similar percentage of Court Style seals. This may suggest either 1) that by the last decade of the sixth century B.C., the Court Style in seals was still a rather new phenomenon and that relatively few such seals had come into general circulation; or 2) that in the last decade of the sixth century B.C. distribution of seals cut in the Court Style was restricted to only a few of the highest-ranking individuals and offices associated with the Persian court. In the latter scenario, these seals would have acted as markers of status and position, much in the way that Irene Winter has argued for those seals in the



FIG. 32. London Darius Cylinder (British Museum 89132). Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

Ur III period showing the presentation scene with a seated king and a royal name inscription.¹¹⁴ To decide between these two options, we would need to have a large sealed archive predating the Fortification Tablets and preserving seals belonging to offices and individuals of varying rank. More work also must be done on the complete corpus of Court Style seals from Persepolis, especially in reference to patterns of seal ownership and usage. The exact dates of the formation of the Court Style must, then, await further discoveries. At the moment, however, we cannot rule out the possibility that the Court Style may date back even into the reign of Cyrus.

The securely dated occurrence of PFS 7* and PFS 859* in 503–502 B.C. also bears on the execution of the architectural reliefs on the Persepolis terrace.¹¹⁵ The earliest sculptural activity on the Persepolis terrace has tended to be dated to late in the reign of Darius.¹¹⁶ The Palace of Darius is generally agreed to be the earliest building completed on the terrace, since the doorways carry inscriptions of Darius: DPa carved on the door jambs, DPb carved on the fold of the king's robe, and DPc carved on the window frames. The sculptures from the Palace of Darius show every indication of being the final, canonized form of a sophisticated sculptural statement on the place and power of the Great King in the Persian cosmos. The early, experimental stages, when both style and iconography were in the process of creation and elaboration, have not survived.

As suggested above, the Court Style in seals represents the glyptic counterpart to the architectural reliefs; both are the formal sculptural expression of the power of the Great King, and in both the king and his closest advisors seem to have been directly involved in creating the official canon. The architectural reliefs and seals employ similar iconography, and

one imagines that the formulation of the sculptural and glyptic programs probably occurred at approximately the same time. As we have seen, the fully developed version of the Court Style in seal art already existed by at least 503–502 B.C. Official Achaemenid coinage appears at approximately the same time.¹¹⁷

Clearly, then, by the last decade of the sixth century B.C. at the very latest a unified program of visual imagery of empire was firmly in place in official Achaemenid glyptic and coinage.¹¹⁸ It is thus possible, and indeed compelling, to place sculptural activity in the form of architectural relief on the Persepolis terrace in the last decade of the sixth century B.C. PF 1580, dated to the fifteenth year of Darius (507–506 B.C.), records the first payment of grain rations to artisans at Persepolis.¹¹⁹ Most likely, official Achaemenid seal art, coin dies, and architectural relief developed concurrently; the formative and experimental phase of this movement may be placed somewhere between the years 540 and 510 B.C.

Finally, since PFS 7*, PFS 859*, and the other examples of the Court Style preserved in the Fortification and the Treasury Tablets occur at an imperial capital in the heartland of the empire, they should now establish the standard for discussions of the nature of the Achaemenid Court Style in glyptic art throughout the empire. This material will help in categorizing the many unprovenanced and undated examples of the Court Style now stored in museum collections, which in turn may lead to the identification, and so better understanding, of regional styles existing at this period. The famous London Darius cylinder (fig. 32), traditionally illustrated as the definitional standard for the style, in fact seems far removed from the Court Style found at Persepolis, as represented by PFS 7*.¹²⁰ The composition is

somewhat rigid, owing to the large size of the chariot, the stiff poses of all figures (including the dead lion below the draft animals), and the lack of interaction among figures. Stylistically, the figures are oddly proportioned (note the small size of the draft animals, the large human heads), the execution dry and linear (note the severely angular edges of the king's upper garment and the rendering of musculature in the animal bodies). Most unusual in comparison with the Persepolitan Court Style is the elaborate use of the unmasked drill, seen especially in the draft animals. The four-pointed dentate crown on the London cylinder is also odd. Lastly, the composition is undocumented in the corpus of Court Style seals found at Persepolis.

A few specific stylistic details on the London cylinder—the imbricate bark markings on the date palms, the broad, rectangular wings of the winged disk, the studded band on the crown, the detailing line along the outer edges of the king's upper garment, and the general tendency to elaborate surface detail—do find parallels in the Persepolis material. The London cylinder (height: 3.70 cm.; diameter: 1.60 cm.) is a good deal taller than PFS 7* but not much thicker (estimated height of PFS 7*: 2.85 cm.; estimated diameter of original seal: 1.52 cm.).

The London Darius cylinder, then, gives every indication of being a regional variation on the Court Style. The seal apparently was found in Egypt and so may have been executed there. The stiff linearity of the engraving and schematic drill work in the bodies of the draft animals call to mind Graeco-Persian gems; thus the piece may have connections with seal workshops in western Asia Minor.¹²¹ Much important work remains to be done on the many unprovenanced Achaemenid Court Style seals.

Summary

The initial seven seals presented in this article are related through their appearance on the J Texts of the Persepolis Fortification archive. An examination of these seals has revealed a small circle of highly placed individuals from the elite at Persepolis. Their seal designs hint at a network of artists drawing inspiration from a wide variety of sources. The artists themselves, however, are all united by the high quality of their work.¹²² In many ways these seals represent the past ("Early Persian" heirlooms PFS 93* and PFS 51), present (Fortification Style PFS 66*), and future (Court Style PFS 7* and PFS 859*) of Achaemenid seal art in the late sixth century B.C. in the heartland of the empire. The two heirlooms, PFS 93* and PFS

51, attest to the strong tradition in glyptic art (and thus also administrative bureaucracy) dating back to the early pre-empire period of the Achaemenid family. Although well over one hundred years old when applied to the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, these seals must have been carefully preserved. They yielded beautiful crisp designs in their impressed state in the late sixth century B.C. Both must have been seals with strong personal attachments in the family; one is certainly used by a high-ranking woman in the Achaemenid family (PFS 51); the other (PFS 93*), I would suggest, in an office staffed by a member(s) of the royal family. In a similar way PFS 38, the seal of Queen Irtašduna, reflects older glyptic traditions, this time Modeled Style from Assyria and Babylonia. It is an outstanding example of a substantial group of seals in the Fortification archive that perpetuate (through the seal workshops) these Modeled Style traditions but in a Persepolitan landscape.

PFS 66*, the office seal associated with transactions involving flour, is best understood in the context of a large number of seal impressions from the Fortification archive representing a glyptic tradition as yet undocumented in museum collections or previous excavations. The Fortification Style has yet fully to be studied in the impressions preserved on the Fortification Tablets; perhaps with the publication of this archive more seals cut in this style will be recognized in museum and private collections. At present, however, this style seems limited to the Persepolis region and may have been relatively short-lived. Seals cut in the Fortification Style constitute the largest proportion of seals documented on the Fortification archive and so attest to a strong, if as yet imperfectly understood, tradition. The Fortification Style may be connected with a native Iranian style in glyptic arts.

The seal of Irtuppiya, PFS 2, shows how an important official in the system can reach outside the normal network of seal engravers to acquire a distinctive seal style unrelated to current trends.

Finally, PFS 7* and PFS 859* preserve two of the earliest extant canonized versions of the new official style of the court, one closely related to the formal expression of Achaemenid concepts of world order as found in the monumental architectural reliefs on the Persepolis terrace. While seal art and monumental relief have the same aims (and audience), the Court Style in glyptic clearly was a product of artistic experimentation by a few artists working within the environs (geographical and conceptual) of the seal workshops.

This Court Style in seal art has long been recognized in scholarly circles as the style most distinctly associated with the Achaemenid Persians. The seal

impressions from the Fortification archive show, however, a wide variety in the tastes of the elite down into the early fifth century B.C. The situation just slightly later in the 480s and 470s B.C. is more difficult to evaluate since the Treasury Tablets preserve only a relatively small number of seals. Nevertheless, the seal impressions from the Persepolis Treasury Tablets show a high percentage of seals cut in the Court Style

and also many Greek-inspired designs.¹²³ The evidence provided by the seal impressions from the Treasury Tablets, in combination with unprovenanced seals from museum collections, suggests that by the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. movements were afoot in the seal workshops that were to lead Achaemenid glyptic into new areas.

Notes

The groundwork for this article was laid in my Ph.D. dissertation, completed for the Interdepartmental Program in Classical Art and Archaeology at the University of Michigan (Mark B. Garrison, "Seal Workshops and Artists in Persepolis: A Study of Seal Impressions Preserving the Theme of Heroic Encounter on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Tablets" [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1988]). Margaret Cool Root first introduced me to the Achaemenid Persians and the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, and it is through her generosity and kindness that I have been encouraged to work on the Persepolis material with her. Dr. Root has read and commented upon the contents of this article, for which I am extremely grateful. Permission to publish the seal impressions on the Fortification Tablets comes from The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Over the years, the Persepolis Fortification Tablet Seal Project has received support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and three units of the University of Michigan: the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, the Office of the Vice President for Research, and the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies. From the latter I am especially pleased to acknowledge a Research Partnership Award in 1987–88. I would also like to thank the Classics Department at Vassar College, where I completed the final draft of this manuscript as the Carl Blegen Fellow. Charles Jones of The Oriental Institute has kindly provided over the last few years much information on the Fortification Tablet archive. For his assistance and support he has my most sincere thanks. I have cited in this study his unpublished manuscript, "Document and Circumstance at the City of the Persians." He also provided all the readings of seal inscriptions contained in this article. The seal inscriptions have been omitted from the line drawings of inscribed seals, although the panels for the inscriptions have been included. In the final publication of the Fortification archive seal impressions, the inscriptions will be included in the collated line drawings. Lorene Sterner, draftsman for the Persepolis Fortification Tablet Seal Project, did all of the drawings, and I thank her for the opportunity to reproduce them here. Photographs of the Persepolis seal impressions are by the author. Both drawings and photographs of these seal impressions are reproduced here at approximately 1.5 times their actual size. I am especially grateful to Dominique Collon of the British Museum and Edith Porada of Columbia University for expediting the acquisition of photographs. For the rendering of personal names in the Fortification Tablet texts, I have followed the glossed versions contained in R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, OIP 92 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969). Any errors contained in this text rest with the author.

1. See, e.g., H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, ed., *Achaemenid History I: Sources, Structures and Synthesis* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987); H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and J. W. Drijvers, eds., *Achaemenid History V: The Roots of the European Tradition* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1990).
2. See most recently M. C. Root, "Lifting the Veil: Approaches to the Study of Artistic Transmission beyond the Boundaries of Historical Periodization," in *Achaemenid History VIII: Continuity and Change*, ed. A. Kuhrt, H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, and M. C. Root, forthcoming.
3. See especially the study of official Achaemenid art by M. C. Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the*

Creation of an Iconography of Empire, Acta Iranica 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1979); the series of Achaemenid History Workshops held over the last ten years has greatly deepened our understanding of the Achaemenid empire on many levels (six volumes have appeared to date, *Achaemenid History I–VI* [Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987–91]). On issues particularly relevant here, see M. C. Root, "From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire," in *Achaemenid History VI: The Persian Empire in the West*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991), 1–25.

4. See, e.g., the remarks of D. Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 5–7, 108–19.
5. E.g., M. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6 (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1977).
6. For the texts see: G. G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, OIP 65 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948); G. G. Cameron, "Persepolis Treasury Tablets Old and New," *JNES* 17 (1958): 161–76; G. G. Cameron, "New Tablets from the Persepolis Treasury," *JNES* 24 (1965): 167–92; W. Hinz, review of *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* by G. G. Cameron, *ZA* 15 (1950): 347–53; W. Hinz, "Zu den Persepolis-Tafelchen," *ZDMG* 110 (1960): 236–51; R. T. Hallock, "New Light from Persepolis," *JNES* 9 (1950): 237–52; R. T. Hallock, "A New Look at the Persepolis Treasury Tablets," *JNES* 19 (1960): 90–100. For the seal impressions see: E. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 2, *The Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*, OIP 69 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 4–41 and pls. 1–14; E. Porada, review of Schmidt, *Persepolis* 2, *JNES* 20 (1961): 66–71; Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 172–78. In addition to the inscribed texts, 200 sealed "labels" were found. In total 77 seals occur on the corpus of sealed material from the Treasury: 43 cylinder seals and 34 stamp seals/signet rings.
7. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, published 2087 texts (tablet texts preceded with the prefix PF). R. T. Hallock, "Selected Fortification Texts," *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran* 8 (1978): 109–36, added another 33 texts (tablet texts preceded with the prefix PFa). See Jones, "Document and Circumstance," 3–5. Before his death Hallock had read and transliterated another 2,586 texts, which will be published by Matthew W. Stolper and Charles Jones of The Oriental Institute (all the texts Hallock had read but not published are preceded with the prefix PFNN). All who study aspects of the Fortification Tablet archive are indebted to Hallock's pioneering work not only on the translation of the Elamite texts but also on the overall functioning of the rationing system as represented in the texts and the seal impressions. The tablets have been the focus of several important specialized studies; for a brief overview of the Fortification Tablets, their place in discussions of the state economy, and a recent bibliography see D. M. Lewis, "The Fortification Texts," in *Achaemenid History IV: Centre and Periphery*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1990), 1–6, and Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 161–72. H. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients 19 (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1990), is a detailed

examination of the workings of the administrative system preserved in the Fortification Tablet texts.

8. The first volume of the publication of the seal impressions that occur on the tablets published by Hallock in 1969 (see n. 7 above) is now nearing completion: M. C. Root and M. B. Garrison, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets: A Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 1, *Images of Heroic Encounter*, forthcoming. Hallock discusses the seals in several publications but always focuses on seal use (R. T. Hallock, "The Use of Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets," in *Seals and Sealing*, 127–33; R. T. Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 2, *The Median and Achaemenid Periods*, ed. I. Gerschevitch [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985], 588–609). For a recent update on the bibliography for the archival use of the seals, see Lewis, "The Fortification Texts," 1–6; also now Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*. I have explored the question of seal artists and workshops based upon the evidence of the Persepolis sealings (Garrison, "Seal Workshops," *passim*). Root has begun to address some of the art historical issues that the seal impressions raise: M. C. Root, "Circles of Artistic Programming: Strategies for Studying Creative Process at Persepolis," in *Investigating Artistic Environments in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Ann C. Gunter (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 115–39; "From the Heart," 1–25; "Lifting the Veil," forthcoming.
- I refer to the collated images of the impressed seals as "seals," although they are preserved in fact only as impressions. I preface all seals occurring as impressions on the Fortification archive with the designation "PFS." An inscribed seal is indicated by an asterisk (*) following the seal number.
9. Some work partially directed along this line of inquiry has been done for the Near East: E. Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi*, Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 24 (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1947); D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalah*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 27 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1975); E. Porada and P. Lampl, "The Seal Impressions," in M. Weitemeyer, *Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers in the Sippar Region at the Time of Hammurabi* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1962), 99–133.
10. E.g., M. C. Root and M. B. Garrison, with an appendix by Charles Jones, "Royal Name Seals in the Persian Empire," forthcoming.
11. See the discussion in Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 161–62, and Jones, "Document and Circumstance," 3–7.
12. See n. 7 above. On the texts published by Hallock, some 15,376 people are on the state payroll over the period 509–494 B.C. (Lewis, "Fortification Texts," 2–3). Of those identified by name, the great majority are completely unknown outside of the Fortification Tablet texts and seem generally of low social status. The mass of anonymous workers are "dependent populations," not paid workers. For names preserved in the Fortification archive see M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 286 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973) and Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, *passim*.
13. The Elamite language has no known cognates and employs a borrowed script; it is attested as a written language only sporadically from the later third millennium B.C. until the fifth century B.C. (Jones, "Document and Circumstance," 7). The Fortification Tablets contain in addition one tablet inscribed in Phrygian, one in Greek, and one in Babylonian. There is also a corpus of approximately 700 Aramaic texts applied in ink. The Treasury Tablets (n. 6 above) are related to the Fortification Tablets by the use of the Elamite language and the appearance of a few of the same officials; four seals occur on both archives: PFS 113*/PTS 4*, PFS 71*/PTS 33*, PFS 1084*/PTS 42*, and PFS 1567*/PTS 14*.
14. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, 24–25, PF 691–728, 730–40, 2033–35; Hallock, "Select Fortification Texts," PFA 6; there are eight J Texts in the unpublished PFNN texts.
15. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, 24–25.
16. I discuss the workings of the J Texts in more detail in M. B. Garrison, "A Persepolis Fortification Seal at Susa," forthcoming.
17. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, 24. 1 marris = 10 QA, 1 QA being approximately one quart. Wine and beer are rarely issued as regular rations to work groups. When wine is issued, the normal monthly ration is 1½ QA (see Hallock, "Evidence," 588–609). For weights and measures see Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, 72–74.
18. On PF 729, assigned by Hallock to the J Texts, occur PFS 862 and PFS 863. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, 25, notes that PF 729 was assigned to the J Texts "for want of a better place." In fact, it seems out of place here not only because of the unusual action and the lack of the phrase "dispensed" or "expended before the king" but also because the quality of the two seals, PFS 862 and PFS 863, does not accord with the pattern that emerges from a study of the other seals occurring in the J Texts. PF 729 is best left out of the J Text category. PF 701 and 723 carry illegible seal traces, which probably were PFS 66* and PFS 7*, respectively.
19. See below, pp. 14–15, for a possible explanation of the occurrence of PFS 859* on one J Text.
20. One cattle text, PF 691, is sealed by PFS 859* rather than by PFS 93*. See below, pp. 14–15, for possible explanations. P. Amiet, "La glyptique de la fin de l'Élam," *Ars Asiatiques* 28 (1973): 3–26, mistakenly states that PFS 93* is a personal seal. Tablets with PFS 93*: PF 692–95, 2033, and ten unpublished PFNN texts. Maximum preserved height of PFS 93*: 1.95 cm.; circumference: 3.80 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 1.21 cm.
21. Hallock, "Use of Seals," 128, pl. E(4); Root, *King and Kingship*, 27 and 120; Amiet, "La glyptique," no. 28; Jones, "Document and Circumstance," 10; J. Bollweg, "Protoachämenidische Siegelbilder," *AMZ* 21 (1988): 58–63 (esp. 53–58 [no. 1], pl. 30 [1–3]); Root, "From the Heart," 21–22.
22. The inscription has some difficulties, which will be articulated in more detail by Charles Jones in the publication of PFS 93* in vol. 2 of the catalogue. In brief, he reports: "The sign read as 'x' in the third line of the inscription is certainly not 'ir' as read by Hinz and Koch. The sign closely resembles the

- TAK sign. The equivocal context of almost every exemplar of the TAK sign leaves the reading here, as elsewhere, open to question" (personal communication, April 1992). There is debate concerning not only the identification of this "Cyrus the Anshanite" but also his date. See most recently Bollweg, "Protoachämenidische Siegelbilder," 53–58; R. Schmitt, "Cispis," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 5:6, ed. E. Yarshater (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1991), 600–1 (Teispes dated to ca. 675–640 B.C.); and E. Porada, "Cylinder Seals of Iran Preceded by Brief Remarks on Stamp Seals of the Chalcolithic Period and the Earliest Bronze Age," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, forthcoming. I thank Dr. Porada for permission to consult her manuscript and cite it here.
23. With the exception of PFS 859*, the personal seals (PFS 51, PFS 38, and PFS 2) also occur outside of the J Texts on many other types of transactions. The pattern of seal application in relation to the names mentioned in the accompanying texts allows us to feel very secure in associating these seal images to these specific individuals.
 24. Hallock, "Use of Seals," 128. See also Hallock, "Evidence," 608; Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, 24; Hallock, "Select Fortification Texts," 113; W. Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," ZA 61 (1971): 261–311 (esp. 298–99); Jones, "Document and Circumstance," 10; H. Koch, "'Hofschatzwarte' und 'Schatzhäuser' in der Persis," ZA 71 (1981): 232–47 (234 identifies Irdabama as a wife of Darius). H. Koch, "Zu der Lohnverhältnissen der Dareioszeit in Persien," in *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*, AMI Ergbd. 10, ed. H. Koch and D. N. Mackenzie (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1983), 19–35 (esp. 30), and Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, 269, identify Irdabama as a queen. M. Brosius, "Royal and Non-Royal Women in Achaemenid Persia (559–331 B.C.)," (D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1991), 134–52, 198–99, concludes that the exact position of Irdabama within the royal family cannot be determined but that she was certainly very highly placed.
 25. PF 735–40. Maximum preserved height of PFS 51: 2.25 cm.; circumference: 4.15 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 1.32 cm.
 26. See n. 7 above for the PFa texts. The seal also occurs on six unpublished PFNN texts.
 27. The transactions could conceivably involve not rations from the royal storehouses controlled by the three office seals PFS 7*, PFS 93*, and PFS 66* but rations from the stores that the women have on their estates. This seems unlikely, however, given the use of the special phrases "dispensed for" and "expended in behalf of." For PFS 2 and PFS 859* see below, pp. 12–13 and 14–15, respectively.
 28. Root, "From the Heart," 21–22, also discusses this seal.
 29. E.g., the lions in the famous lion hunt from a chariot, the wild asses in the wild ass hunt, and the gazelle in the scene where Assurbanipal hides in a pit awaiting the arrival of a herd of gazelle (J. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture* [London: British Museum, 1983], figs. 83, 88, and 89–90). Assurbanipal (ca. 668–627 B.C.) and Cyrus the son of Teispes (ca. 650–630 B.C.), to whom PFS 93* belongs, were contemporaries (see Bollweg, "Protoachämenidische Siegelbilder," 55–56, for the dates of Cyrus son of Teispes).
 30. Amiet, "La glyptique," 15–24. See also Root, "From the Heart," 21–22.
 31. There are two groups of sealed Neo-Elamite tablets from Susa. One series (16 different seal designs) occurs on 299 economic tablets found in 1901 by de Morgan on the Acropolis near the small temple built by Shutruk-Nahunte II (seal impressions = Amiet, "La glyptique," nos. 1–16). The other series (7 different seal designs) occurs on seven tablets found by de Mecquenem in 1909 under the Palace of Darius (seal impressions = Amiet, "La glyptique," nos. 17–23). The exact stratigraphic and chronological relationship of these tablets to datable features on the Susa Acropolis is unknown. In his publication of the seven texts found under the palace of Darius (=V. Scheil, *Textes élamites-anzanites*, MDP 11 [Paris: E. Leroux, 1911], nos. 301–7), Scheil added two tablet texts of unknown date and provenance (nos. 299 and 300), a Neo-Elamite tablet text from the Acropolis (no. 309), and a tablet text (no. 308) of unknown provenance at Susa carrying an impression of PFS 7* (see below, pp. 13–15, and Garrison, "A Persepolis Fortification Seal at Susa," forthcoming). Amiet, "La glyptique," passim, concludes that the two series of tablets and their seal impressions represent two different stages of Neo-Elamite glyptic in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.: an earlier phase associated with the impressions on the tablets found near the temple on the Acropolis and a later phase associated with the impressions on the tablets found under the Palace of Darius. P. de Miroschedji, "Notes sur la glyptique de la fin de l'Élam," RA 57 (1982): 51–63, places both sets of tablets and their seal impressions ca. 650–600 B.C., continuing on down into the sixth century B.C. M.-J. Steve, "La Fin de l'Élam: à propos d'une empreinte de sceau-cylindre," *Studia Iranica* 15 (1986): 7–21, lumps both series into the latest phase of Neo-Elamite glyptic, which he labels Neo-Elamite III B (605–539 B.C.). See also the discussion in Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 107–19 and 515–17; Bollweg, "Protoachämenidische Siegelbilder," passim; E. Porada, "Cylinder Seals of Iran," forthcoming.
 32. Amiet, "La glyptique," nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6.
 33. Amiet, "La glyptique," nos. 2, 7, 13, and 17.
 34. Amiet, "La glyptique," nos. 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, perhaps 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22.
 35. Amiet, "La glyptique," nos. 16 (Susa), 22 (Susa), 51 (Pierpont Morgan), 53 (Brussels); Bollweg, "Protoachämenidische Siegelbilder," no. 7 (Tehran).
 36. As documented in PFS 93*, PFS 51, in Amiet, "La glyptique," nos. 16 and 22, and in the unprovenanced seals nos. 51–59. Porada, "Cylinder Seals of Iran," forthcoming, has traced the theme of the mounted huntsman back to Neo-Assyrian Linear Style seals of the ninth–eighth centuries B.C. and suggests that the theme is ultimately of Assyrian inspiration.
 37. Amiet, "La glyptique," nos. 14 and 15.
 38. Amiet, "La glyptique," no. 21 and the unprovenanced seals nos. 62–66.

39. Amiet, "La glyptique," nos. 11–13, and the unprovenanced seals nos. 34–44. The intertwined animal groups provide the one exception to the general tendency seen in "Neo-Elamite" glyptic to avoid overlapping of figures.
40. For the political picture in southwestern Elam at this time see E. Carter and M. W. Stolper, *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*, University of California Publications of Near Eastern Studies 25 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 44–56 and 181–89.
41. Amiet, *Glyptique susienne*, MDAI 43 (Paris: P. Guethner, 1972), nos. 2121–59; Amiet, "La glyptique," 3.
42. Amiet, "La glyptique," no. 34.
43. Note also the comments of Amiet, "La glyptique," 24–26, and Amiet, *Glyptique susienne*, 275. This is not the place to discuss what the identification of the "Early Persian" style implies politically and culturally for our reconstruction of affairs in southwestern Iran after Assurbanipal's sack of Susa in 646 B.C. The late history of Elam has been extensively discussed in several recent articles (most recently see P. de Miroschedji, "La fin de l'Élam: essai d'analyse et d'interprétation," *Iranica Antiqua* 25 [1990]: 47–95; Carter and Stolper, *Elam*, for a survey of the earlier and later periods).
 Future studies will certainly strengthen the case for the impact of this "Early Persian" style on Achaemenid glyptic as represented in the Fortification Tablets. E.g., the archer series of Achaemenid coins strikingly evokes the kneeling archer as preserved on the Susa and Persepolis seal impressions (see M. C. Root, "The Persian Archer at Persepolis: Aspects of Chronology, Style and Symbolism," in *L'Or perse et l'histoire grecque*, ed. R. Descat, *Revue des Études anciennes* 91 [Paris: Belles lettres, 1989], 33–50). Root, "From the Heart," 20–22, explores briefly the question of the relationship of "Neo-Elamite" glyptic and the troublesome Graeco-Persian style. My identification of that style as "Early Persian" adds an interesting element to that question. The Graeco-Persian class of seals will warrant thorough restudy with the publication of the Persepolis seal impressions.
44. See also the comments in Root, *King and Kingship*, 28–42.
45. An important discussion on transmission of artistic styles can be found in Root, "Circles," 132, and Root, "Lifting the Veil," forthcoming.
46. See also the comments below, pp. 8–10.
47. Maximum preserved height of PFS 38: 1.90 cm.; circumference: 4.15 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 1.32 cm. The seal also occurs on six unpublished PFNN texts.
48. See also Hallock, "Evidence," 598 and 608 (corrects the earlier identification of Irtašduna with a daughter of Darius); Hallock, "Use of Seals," 128; Hallock, "Select Fortification Texts," 110, 113, and 121; Hinz, *Achämenidische Hofverwaltung*, 298–99; Jones, "Document and Circumstance," 10; Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, 16, 21, 29, 82, 94, 106, 144, 148, 150–51, 154, 178, 199, 204, 226, 291; Brosius, "Royal and Non-Royal Women," 29–31, 42, 62–69, 103–4, 131–34, 197–98.
49. D. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, Cincinnati Classical Studies 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 27, suggests that the queen's estate at Kuknaka was originally the estate of a pretender who challenged Darius' rule in his first year; see also Brosius, "Royal and Non-Royal Women," 131–34. For measures in the Fortification Tablets, see n. 17 above.
50. For Irtašduna and her son Arsames, see Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," 423; Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 22.
51. Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 203–7, 476, 477, 480, and 520; M. C. Root, *Crowning Glories: Persian Kingship and the Power of Creative Continuity* (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 1990), 37.
52. Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 196–243 and 518–24.
53. Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 91–105 and 499–514. The forthcoming publication of the Neo-Assyrian seals in the British Museum by D. Collon should mark a valuable contribution to the study of Neo-Assyrian glyptic art. The questions of the origins of the Modeled Style and its particular Assyrian and/or Babylonian features need much careful research. At the moment we have few securely provenanced seals or seal impressions from which a coherent discussion might emerge. I have traced the earliest securely dated examples of the Modeled Style to mid-ninth-century B.C. Assyria in the form of the Assyrian royal seal type (cf. fig. 13, a bulla carrying the Assyrian royal seal type dated by the accompanying text to the reign of Sargon II); see, e.g., A. J. Sachs, "The Assyrian Royal-Seal Type," *Iraq* 15 (1953): 167–70. I have become increasingly suspicious that we cannot ascribe specific stylistic features to Assyria as against Babylonia. There may be certain iconographic traits that are specifically Assyrian or Babylonian (e.g., types of clothing or headgear), but the whole question needs to be readdressed. A possible line of inquiry might be to assemble all inscribed seals from the period to determine whether seals with Babylonian or Assyrian inscriptions show stylistic or iconographic characteristics that seem diagnostic. There are many problems with this approach as well, since an inscription probably says more about the identity of the seal owner than about the style of the seal design. In several helpful and stimulating conversations on this subject, Edith Porada reminds me that whether Assyrian or Babylonian in origin, the Modeled Style would have been continued after the fall of the Assyrian capitals in Babylonian workshops. Thus, distinctive Babylonian features could have entered at this time.
54. Forty-eight Modeled Style seals will be presented in fascicle I, representing 14.63 percent of the total (328 seals).
55. Cf. Collon, *First Impressions*, figs. 344–46, 573, 618, 739, 804, 856, and 883, for the Pleiades; figs. 344–45, 573, 823, and 881 (probably Neo-Babylonian), for the rhombus.
56. Cf. Collon, *First Impressions*, fig. 357 (seal impression found at Nimrud dated to 650 B.C.), for the bowled vegetal device with a figure in a winged disk above it (the seal fig. 358 preserves a more schematic treatment of the same motif). G. Herrmann, *Ivories from Room SW 37 Fort Shalmanesar*, IFN 4:1 (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1986), nos. 153, 155, 167–84, 602, 1223–26; M. Mallowan and G. Herrmann, *Furniture from SW. 7 Fort Shalmanesar*, IFN 3

- (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1974), nos. 2, 21–22, 89–96.
57. Cf. Collon, *First Impressions*, figs. 184 (Mari), 190 (Minet el Beida, Syria), 314 (Minet el Beida, Syria), and 776–77 (unprovenanced).
 58. Perhaps the uncle of Darius the Great. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, 23. Hallock, "Evidence," 589–93, 598, 606, and 609; R. T. Hallock, "The Persepolis Fortification Archive," *Orientalia* 92 (1973): 320–23; Hallock, "Use of Seals," 128–29 and pl. E(6); Hallock, "Select Fortification Texts," 113; D. M. Lewis, "Datis the Mede," *JHS* 100 (1980): 194–95; W. M. Sumner, "Achaemenid Settlement in the Persepolis Plain," *AJA* 90 (1986): 3–31 (esp. 26–27); Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," 271, 288, 301–3; Lewis, "Persepolis Fortification Texts," 1–2; Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, 224–26.
 59. As specifically stated in PF 2067 and 2068. For PFS 9*, see Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 241, 243, 262, 264–68, 271, 272, 282, and 525. The Aramaic inscription reads: prnk; "Parnaka." Maximum preserved height of PFS 9*: 1.25 cm.; circumference: 2.20 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 0.70 cm.
 60. For PFS 16*, see Hallock, "Use of Seals," pl. E(7); Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 201, 204, 217–23, 238, 249, 256, 361, 380, 381, 400, 452, 478–79, 493, and 521–22; Root, "From the Heart," 22; Root, "Circles," 130–31. The Aramaic inscription reads: prnk /br /rsm; "Parnaka, son of Arsam." Maximum preserved height of PFS 16*: 1.75 cm.; circumference: 3.05 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 0.97 cm.
 61. Margaret Root has recently written very eloquently on the question of individualism in Achaemenid Persia: Root, "From the Heart," 2, 12–13, 19–20, and 22; Root, "Lifting the Veil," forthcoming.
 62. See the important discussions in A. Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 25 (1983): 83–97; A. Kuhrt, "Ceremonial, Conquest, Usurpation: From Babylon to Persia," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. D. N. Cannadine and S. R. F. Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 25–55.
 63. Hallock, "Use of Seals," 127, pl. E(3). Jones, "Document and Circumstance," 9–10. Tablets with PFS 66*: PF 699–704 and seven unpublished PFNN texts.
 64. Hallock, "Use of Seals," 127–28.
 65. There are at least two unpublished PFNN tablets that carry PFS 66b*.
 66. I prefer at the moment to reserve judgment on which seal occurs on PF 704, which dates to 501–500 B.C. and may carry PFS 66b*. In any case, it does not negate the general observation that PFS 66a* does not occur after 502 B.C.
 67. See, e.g., the "dynastic" seal from Ugarit (C. F.-A. Schaeffer, ed., *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*, vol. 3, *Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales*, Mission de Ras Shamra 6 (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1955), xxiii–xxvi, xlii–xliii, pls. XI (fig. 14), XVI (figs. 22–23), and XVII (figs. 24–25). A few other seals in the Fortification archive also seem to exist in duplicate (e.g., PFS 12a and 12b). See M. C. Root and M. B. Garrison, "The Persepolis Fortification Tablet Seal Impressions: An Interim Inventory of Seal Numbers and Associated Tablets," forthcoming.
 68. "The sealing is here restored from two incomplete impressions. There is no word division in the inscription although the [m]n may be separate. The first letter, on the very edge of the sealing, may be a m but it is very incomplete in the sealing. The whole inscription is in very minute letters" (unpublished manuscript on the Aramaic texts from the Fortification archive by R. A. Bowman). Charles Jones suggests that the second word in the inscription is a personal name, but Bowman did not enter it into his glossary, and no known parallels exist in either Aramaic or Elamite; the exact manner in which the word was vocalized cannot be determined (personal communication, April 1992).
 69. Maximum preserved height of PFS 66a*: 1.80 cm.; circumference: 3.45 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 1.10 cm.
 70. Maximum preserved height of PFS 66b*: 1.50 cm.; circumference: 3.70 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 1.18 cm.
 71. Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 258–368, 481–95, and 525–28.
 72. Of the 328 seals that will be catalogued in fascicle I, 185 are cut in the Fortification Style (56.40 percent).
 73. See also the remarks below, pp. 15–17.
 74. Occurrences of PFS 2: PF 15, 113, 442, 465–66, 540, 542, 544, 585, 598, 613, 832, 1000–1, 1049–53, 1055–57, 1065, 1067–73, 1187–89, 1605–6, 1651, 1681, 1699–1700, 1709, 1715–16, 1748, 1845–48, and thirty-three unpublished PFNN texts. Height of PFS 2: 1.60 cm.; circumference: 2.40 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 0.76 cm. For Irtuppiya see Hallock, "Evidence," 597 and 600; Hallock, "Use of Seals," 131; Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," 286–87 (identified as the "Hofspeicherwart" and director of Hinz's Abteilung I, "Cerealien," of the "Hofintendantur"); Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, 241–43 (identified as the Director of the "Intendantur" of the administrative region in Elam [her region VI]).
 75. PF 709, 711–13, 717, 724–25, and PFa 6 (for PFa numbers see n. 7 above).
 76. The text reads: "962.2 BAR [of] grain, [in accordance with] a sealed document of Irtuppiya, 7 cattle in pasture(?), dispensed in behalf of the king, received. [At] Sursunkiri. In the fifth [Elamite] month, the sixth, the seventh, the eighth, 20 days of the ninth, [for] a total of 4 months, 20 days, [in] the 21st year."
 77. For discussions of Irtuppiya and his role in the system, see the references above, n. 74. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, 243, suggests that the cattle are being fattened in preparation for the arrival of the king's retinue, a suggestion that is

- not incompatible with the one proposed here. She does not offer an explanation for the unusual occurrence of PFS 2 on PF 710.
78. Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 447–50. PFS 740 and PFS 690 seem to be debased versions of the style of PFS 2, suggesting copyists or perhaps a master and apprentice. PFS 23 is closer to PFS 2 and may be from the same hand.
 79. As mentioned, PFS 23 may be a product of the same hand. For a somewhat related treatment of human heads see B. Buchanan and P. R. S. Moorey, *Catalogue of the Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, vol. 3, *The Iron Age Stamp Seals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), no. 375 (classified in "Elaborate Neo-Imperial Stamp Seals, Mainly of the 7th c. B.C., Modeled Style").
 80. J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (New York: Abrams, 1970), 305.
 81. I am preparing a detailed treatment of the Court Style as found in the Persepolis sealings: Mark B. Garrison, "The Court Style in Achaemenid Seal Art," forthcoming. For now see Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 11, 383–419, 471–92, and 528–30.
 82. Hallock, "Use of Seals," 127–28; Jones, "Document and Circumstance," 9–10. Known occurrences of PFS 7* (corrected from Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, 78): PF 697–709, 711–27, 2034, and PFa 6; and twenty-six unpublished PFNN texts. Add also an administrative text of Achaemenid date discovered at Susa (Delaporte, *Musée du Louvre*, vol. 1, pl. 48 [20] = Scheil, *Textes élamites-anzanites*, no. 308; see Garrison, "A Persepolis Fortification Seal at Susa," forthcoming).
 83. The J Texts collectively suggest that the offices represented by PFS 7*, PFS 66*, and PFS 93* oversee the delivery of commodities that are to be consumed. The application of the office seal signifies that the transaction in fact took place and that the commodities have been received. These transactions occur at a wide variety of places. For more detail, see Garrison, "A Persepolis Fortification Seal at Susa," forthcoming.
 84. Discussed with photograph on microfiche in Hallock, "Use of Seals," 127–28, pl. E(3). See also Root, *King and Kingship*, 121; Root, *Crowning Glories*, 36–37; Root, "Persian Archer," 40–42, figs. 2–3; Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," 299–300; Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 220, 255, 367, 372, 376, 377, 390, 391, 394–401, 414, 416, 474, 475–81, 489, 491, and 529–30. The drawing reproduced as fig. 22 here is collated from 31 impressions of PFS 7* studied to date. The design is almost complete. Estimated height of original cylinder: 2.85 cm.; circumference: 4.80 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 1.52 cm.
 85. See the discussion in M. Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis, Iran* 21 (London: British Institute of Persian Studies, 1983), 133–38, and Root, *King and Kingship*, passim, esp., 64–65, 122, 148 n. 57, 166 n. 17, 169–71, 182 n. 2, 214–15, and 246.
 86. The inscription occurs with minor variations on a number of seals and seal impressions from Persepolis and elsewhere; see R. Schmitt, *Altpersische Siegel-Inschriften*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 381 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 22 sub SDe; M. Mayrhofer, *Supplement zur Sammlung der altpersischen Inschriften*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 328 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 16 sub 3.11.1.
 87. PFS 11*, PFS 113*, and PFS 1683* also have inscriptions of Darius. PFS 113* is the same seal that occurs on the Treasury Tablets as PTS 4*.
 88. PTS 1*, PTS 2*, PTS 3*, and the famous London Darius cylinder, shown here in fig. 32 (J. Yoyotte, "La provenance du cylindre de Darius, [BM 89.132]," *RA* 46 [1952]: 165–67; D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia* [London: Batchworth Press, 1958], pl. 100; Root, *King and Kingship*, 120–21; Collon, *First Impressions*, fig. 558). For royal name seals in the Achaemenid Persian period see M. C. Root and M. B. Garrison, "Royal Name Seals of the Persian Empire," forthcoming.
 89. See Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors*, 131–33, and Root, *King and Kingship*, 92–93, 99, 117, 121–22, 171, 304, and 306–7, for Achaemenid crowns.
 90. In isolating hands and workshops in the seal impressions preserved on the Persepolis Fortification archive, I have identified several important artists working in the early, formative phases of the Court Style. I have called the artist of PFS 7* the Baradkama Master, after the owner of another one of his seals, PTS 4*/PFS 113*. To the same hand belong PFS 819, PFS 1684*, PTS 3*, PTS 10, and PTS 11*. Results of my hand attributions will be published in a future monograph. For the Baradkama Master see Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 386–91 and 394–401.
 91. The text is a little unusual: three cattle in pasture belonging to the people of Umbartas were dispensed in behalf of the king by Irdasatis. The cattle are described as being in pasture and belonging to the people of a particular place, specifications that never occur with cattle in other J Texts overseen by PFS 93*. In general, Hallock operated on the assumption that irregularities and modifications in transaction syntax in the Fortification Tablet texts signified that something different was happening. Perhaps PFS 859* is used here because the cattle are controlled by a person/office of a particular place (Umbartas) or situation (cattle in pasture?). I prefer, however, the reconstruction given in the following text.
 92. Maximum preserved height of PFS 859*: 1.15 cm.; maximum preserved circumference: 3.15 cm.
 93. Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 414–15, 479, and 491.
 94. E. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 1, *Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, OIP 68 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pls. 144–46. Note the same theme copied later on the door jambs from the Throne Hall (Schmidt, *Persepolis* 1, pls. 114–17) and the "Harem" of Xerxes (Schmidt, *Persepolis* 1, pls.

- 195–96). For a discussion of the scene in monumental art at Persepolis see Root, *King and Kingship*, 303–8; in seal art of Mesopotamia see Garrison, “Seal Workshops,” 24–160.
95. The seal design could have copied the wall relief, the wall relief the seal, or both could have been inspired by another source.
96. Garrison, “Seal Workshops,” 352–56, 485–86, 490–91. Maximum preserved height of PFS 34: 1.20 cm.; circumference: 3.20 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 1.02 cm. Maximum preserved height of PFS 168: 1.15 cm.; maximum preserved circumference: 2.80 cm.
97. Garrison, “Seal Workshops,” 363–68, 487–91.
98. Maximum preserved height of PFS 52: 1.75 cm.; circumference: 3.30 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 1.05 cm.
99. Maximum preserved height of PFS 95: 1.25 cm.; maximum preserved circumference: 2.05 cm.
100. Maximum preserved height of PFS 102: 1.90 cm.; circumference: 2.90 cm.; estimated diameter of original cylinder: 0.92 cm.
101. Maximum preserved height of PFS 301: 1.75 cm.; maximum preserved circumference: 2.20 cm.
102. A more detailed exposition of the origins of the Court Style will appear in my “The Court Style in Achaemenid Persian Glyptic,” forthcoming. For now see Garrison, “Seal Workshops,” 383–419 and 471–539.
103. Garrison, “The Court Style in Achaemenid Persian Glyptic,” forthcoming; Garrison, “Seal Workshops,” 346–83 and 475–92.
104. For the monumental architectural reliefs see the analysis by Root, *King and Kingship*, passim. For the seals see Garrison, “Seal Workshops,” 383–420, 471–92, and 528–30.
105. Root, “Persian Archer,” 33–50.
106. Root, “Persian Archer,” 45, has suggested that the archer series of coins may also have its roots in the seal workshops that were serving the Persepolis administrators.
107. Horses figure prominently on the Apadana, and many subject peoples bring the riding habit to the king in the same reliefs. The letter of Arsam commissioning more equestrian sculptures shows that equestrian groups existed in freestanding sculpture (see the comments of Root, *King and Kingship*, 129–30, on lost freestanding monumental equestrian groups). My point here is the marked difference between official imagery of Cyrus son of Teispes and Darius I. The latter is strongly emblematic and focuses on the central image of the Great King.
108. Root, *King and Kingship*, passim.
109. This list is not all-inclusive; see the discussion and catalogue in Root, *King and Kingship*, 43–76.
110. See the analysis of Root, *King and Kingship*, 208–13.
111. Root, *King and Kingship*, 74–76.
112. See Root, *King and Kingship*, 49–58, and D. Stronach, *Pasargadae: A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 93–97. The debate centers around whether the inscriptions (CMc) naming Cyrus the Great on the door jamb reliefs at Palace P were cut at the time of Cyrus or added later by Darius (P. Lecoq, “Le Problème de l’écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse,” in *Commémoration Cyrus: Hommage Universel III*, Acta Iranica 3 [Leiden: Brill, 1974], 25–107, esp. 52–56, has argued for dating the inscriptions to Cyrus; D. Stronach, “On the Genesis of the Old-Persian Cuneiform Script,” in *Contributions à l’histoire de l’Iran: Mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot*, ed. F. Vallat [Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1990], 195–203, for Darius.). The reliefs in question show drapery with a vertical pleat terminating in an omega-shaped hem and with radiating diagonal folds—conventions similar to those found later at Persepolis during the reign of Darius as well as in late Archaic Greek sculpture.
113. Root, *King and Kingship*, 56–58.
114. I. Winter, “Legitimation of Authority through Image and Legend: Seals Belonging to Officials in the Administrative Bureaucracy of the Ur III State,” in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, 2nd ed., ed. M. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 46 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1991), 59–100.
115. See Root, *King and Kingship*, passim, and Root, “Circles,” 130–31, for the sculptural program at Persepolis. The question of the relationship between seal art and architectural relief at Persepolis is briefly explored in Garrison, “Seal Workshops,” 383–85 and 391–93. A more comprehensive treatment should be possible after further study of the seals preserved in the Fortification archive.
116. Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors*, 127–49, argues for a date very late in the reign of Darius, whereas Root, *King and Kingship*, 83–86, urges acknowledgment of much activity in planning and implementation earlier in the reign.
117. An Archer coin of type II (crowned full figure shooting) was used to seal the transaction on PF 1495 (dated to 500 B.C.), thus confirming the date traditionally ascribed to these coins; see M. C. Root, “Evidence from Persepolis for the Dating of Persian and Archaic Greek Coinage,” *NC* 148 (1988): 1–12. The Daric also occurs on one unpublished PFNN text.
118. If the Palace P reliefs at Pasargadae do indeed date to the time of Cyrus—and at the moment there is no cogent argument against such a date—then this program of visual imagery dates back into the 540s or 530s B.C.
119. As Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors*, 150, suggests, the artisans need not be engaged in activity at Persepolis, although I think it highly likely that they are. See also Root, “Evidence from Persepolis,” passim, for a recent overview of the debate

over the date of the foundation deposits for the Apadana. She confirms the pre-510 B.C. date often suggested for that deposit.

120. For the London Darius cylinder see n. 88 above.

121. Traditionally identified as the source of the most Graeco-Persian gems; see, among many references, Boardman, *Greek Gems*, 303–57 (for the London Darius cylinder in particular cf., e.g., figs. 830–31 [animal form], 824 [drill-work], 829, 834–35 [four points on the crown], 844 [hatching on the lion's mane]). For recent redirection of the inquiry see Root, "From the Heart," 13–15. The Daskyleion seal impressions, around 400 fragmentary and complete bullae securely provenanced from a satrapal capital in Asia Minor, preserve some examples of the Court Style, but stylistically they resemble neither the London Darius cylinder nor the Persepolitan Court Style. The Daskyleion seal impressions date, however, later than Darius I (probably late fifth century B.C., although the material has yet to be published in detail, and D. Kaptan-Bayburtluoglu, "A Group of Seal Impressions on the Bullae from Ergili/Daskyleion," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 16 [1990]: 15–27, hints obliquely at dates ranging from the early fifth century B.C. to the fourth century B.C.). Whatever the date of the Daskyleion impressions, I suspect that there may have been a series of provincial workshops serving the major bureaucratic centers of the Persian empire for most of the period of Achaemenid rule. For the Daskyleion impressions see: M. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 59 (1955): 235–36; E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1961), 171, fig. 122; K. Balkan, "Inscribed Bullae from Daskyleion-Ergili," *Anatolia* 4 (1959): 123–28; Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, *The Anatolian Civilisations* (Istanbul: Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1983),

2:69–71.

122. A very large number of the preserved seal impressions on the Fortification Tablets are of a distinctly lower artistic quality (or clearly fewer resources were expended in their production) than the group of seals from the J Texts.

123. If we may take the Treasury Tablets as a valid yardstick of taste. In the seal impressions preserved on the Treasury archive (492–458 B.C.), dated just slightly later than the latest tablets in the Fortification archive, the Court Style is by far the most commonly occurring style; all the highest-ranking officials have seals cut in this style. There may be certain biases in the sample as represented in the Treasury Tablets, given the small number of transactions and officials involved and the elite status of many of those officials. The seal impressions from the Treasury Tablets include only 77 individual seal designs. Perhaps the great variety of seal styles observed in the Fortification Tablets continued down into the fifth century B.C., but the evidence of their use has been lost. The next major archive of sealed documents, the Murashu archive (455–403 B.C.), comes from a small family banking interest in Nippur and thus cannot be compared with the seal impressions from either the Fortification or Treasury Tablets. Court Style seals occur in this archive, as well as many local Babylonian products and some Greek-style seal designs (published in part by L. Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from Their Seals in the Collection of the Museum*, The University Museum Publication of the Babylonian Section 14 [Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1925], 315–49 and pls. 33–45). The seal impressions from the Murashu archive are currently under study (L. Bregstein, "Sealing Practices in the Murashu Archive," U. Penn. diss.).